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30 July 1985

USSR REPORT  
POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

## CONTENTS

## INTERNATIONAL

- Indira Gandhi's Political Career, Policies Recalled  
(R. Ulyanovskiy; LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, No 13, 27 May 85).. 1
- Form, Role of Vanguard Parties in Socialist-Oriented States  
(Yu. V. Irkhin; NAUCHNYY KOMMUNIZM, No 1, Jan-Feb 85)..... 8
- Volume on Third World Vanguard Parties Reviewed  
(V.V. Lebedev; NAUCHNYY KOMMUNIZM, No 1, Jan-Feb 85)..... 18
- Africa's Development, American Presence in Africa  
(A. Dzasokhov; PRAVDA, 25 May 85)..... 22

## NATIONAL

- Inter-Nationality Contradictions as Complex Now as Earlier  
(G.T. Tavadov; NAUCHNYY KOMMUNIZM, No 5, Sep-Oct 84)..... 23
- Komsomol's Mishin Outlines Youth Festival Program  
(V. Mishin; POD ZNAMENEM LENINIZMA, No 9, May 85)..... 32
- USSR Film Depicts Soviet Society Negatively  
(Nedezhda Zheleznova; LITERATURNOYE OBOZRENIYE, No 2,  
1985)..... 38
- Chakovsky's New Book Portrays Roosevelt  
(Aleksandra Spal; NOVYY MIR, No 4, Apr 85)..... 51

## REGIONAL

- Kazakh MVD Minister on New Alcohol Law  
(KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA, 1 Jun 85)..... 59

Ukrainian CP CC Notes Shortcomings in Zaporozhye Oblast (PRAVDA UKRAINY, 19 Jun 85).....	61
Uzbek Komsomol Nomenklatura Cut by One Third (B. Allamuradov; PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN', No 3, Mar 85).....	63
Poll Conducted on Effectiveness of Atheist Propaganda (A. Ivanov; SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIA, 17 Apr 85).....	70
Statistics on Believers, Atheists in TuSSR City (A. Borodavka; TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA, 30 Apr 85).....	72
M.V. Zimyanin Book Reviewed (M.V. Zimyanin; PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN', No 7, Apr 85).....	75
Better Treatment of Citizens' Letters Urged (Editorial; KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA, 31 May 85).....	83

INTERNATIONAL

INDIRA GANDHI'S POLITICAL CAREER, POLICIES RECALLED

Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 13, 27 May 85 p 14

[Article by Prof. R. Ulyanovskiy, laureate of the Jawaharlal Nehru Prize:  
"Indira Gandhi: The Contours of a Political Portrait"]

[Excerpts] The death of Indira Gandhi... This tragedy  
already belongs to history.

The past is a sphere in which nothing can be changed. In and of itself, it would seem that this makes for epic tranquility. The time has come for a sober analysis of the events, and it goes without saying--not only of the death of Indira Gandhi, but of her entire life, which is inseparably connected with the history of a great nation, and the whole epoch denoted in it. This epoch has come to an end, and for the sake of the future--a sphere into which some foresight is possible--one must make certain conclusions. Naturally, they cannot be final conclusions. Only a certain chronological distance permits clarifying the facts and bringing out the internal and especially the external forces which guided the hands of the murderers...

Indira Gandhi was born 19 November 1917 in Allahabad. Jawaharlal Nehru, her father, was at that time taking his first steps in the political arena--he was one of the activists of the Indian National Congress (INC) party, which stood for Indian self-rule. In those years Indira's grandfather, Motilal Nehru, enjoyed great popularity as one of the leaders of the INC "Old Guard". One must say that he was the only prominent representative of the older generation of Congressites who, at the extraordinary congress of the INC in Calcutta in September 1920, supported the program of noncooperation with the British authorities, and thereby approved the radicalization and democratization of the INC.

Involvement in the national movement did not save the young girl from loneliness. All the adults in the family were frequently subject to arrest; quite often her father and mother were in jail at the same time, and their only daughter was left in the charge of relatives and servants. The police were constantly "visiting" the house. During the long years of imprisonment

the primary means of contact between Nehru and his daughter was by correspondence. The letters addressed to Indira Gandhi comprised his well-known popular essay on world history for young people, which is also well-known to Soviet readers.

Indira went to school both in India and in Switzerland. In 1937, after the death of her mother, she entered Somerville College at Oxford.

In 1947 Jawaharlal Nehru became the first prime minister of India. Indira was, of course, informed on all of his undertakings and was well-versed both in domestic Indian and in international political life. In 1955 she and her father took part in the work of the Bandung Conference, at which the movement for nonalignment was begun. That same year Indira Gandhi was elected to the Working Committee of the INC, which was a sort of party headquarters.

...In 1964, Jawarhalal Nehru passed away. And the new prime-minister, Lal Bahadur Shastri proposed that Indira Gandhi become a member of his cabinet; and she became minister of information and radio broadcasting.

In 1966, Lal Bahadur Shastri died, and the post of prime minister became vacant once again. And this time the ruling party entrusted it to Indira Gandhi.

To ensure that the course of Jawaharlal Nehru was followed--a course many aspects of which had begun to lose their clarity after the death of the great premier and had given rise to opposition not only on the part of the opposition but also in the INC itself--such was the intention of Indira Gandhi. They say that she first received the position, and the authority came later. But it was not easy to achieve.

The elections of 1967 were a serious warning for the ruling party. The INC was victorious on a countrywide scale--but it was a difficult task, and the opposition had never been as strong in parliament. The INC lost power in five states, and in three others it retained an insignificant and unstable majority. This signified a decline in the popularity and prestige of the INC. As a matter of fact, in 1967 the voters passed judgement not only on the activity of Indira Gandhi's government, formed relatively recently, but on the policy of the INC for the entire period following the death of Jawarhalal Nehru. And these election results, which were not very comforting to the INC, spoke not only of the absence of the nation's leader; not only of the general worsening situation in the nation in connection with the drought which struck in the years 1965-1967; but also of a certain absence of guideposts after Nehru's death. A "society on a socialist model" was the declared objective of the INC. This was an extremely vague concept during Nehru's lifetime, and under his successors this concept was entirely devoid of content. The masses of the voters were disappointed by the fact that the INC was unable to raise the standard of living in the country, and the political capital amassed by the INC as the leading organization of national resistance to British colonialism, was over the course of 20 years since the party had come to power, gradually lost--especially, it goes without saying, in the years which had passed since Nehru's death.

Indira Gandhi was forced to come to practical conclusions from the situation which had come to pass. She responded to the warning signal raised by the voters with a "Ten Point Program", which added up to creating a stable national economy. This program was approved by the INC Worker's Committee in May 1967. During the process of discussing the program at a session of the All-Indian Congress Committee, amendments were introduced which contributed to its democratization. However, disagreement soon sprang up around the "Ten Points". And cabinet ministers refused to adopt a number of the points of the program.

A schism developed in the INC. Certain party leaders--representatives of the so-called "old guard"--did not agree with the prime minister's policy. Indira Gandhi's independence and her aspirations for serious social transformations gave rise not only to dissatisfaction but also the direct opposition of groups of conservatives which had formed even during J. Nehru's time, and which were known as the "syndicate".

A struggle broke out in Congress for influence, and the "old guard" inflicted obstructions on the prime minister.

On 8 November 1969 Indira Gandhi appealed to the INC membership in a letter in which she explained the situation which had taken shape in the party. "That to which we are witnesses", she wrote, "is not a personal confrontation and, of course, not a struggle for power. The matter cannot be reduced to a conflict between the parliament and organized groups. This is a conflict between two philosophies and two attitudes toward the goals of congress and toward the methods which congress should use... In the last years of his life my father was very concerned about the fact that there were people in congress who were opposed to changes".

In her struggle with the "syndicate", Indira Gandhi appealed to the ordinary participants in the movement. Nidjalasingappa, making use of his rights as party chairman, removed the prime minister from the party. But that merely led to a schism in the INC: at the end of November and in December 1969, the two factions of the party held parallel sessions of the All-Indian Congress Committee. However, the opposition overestimated its strengths and underestimated the support which the prime minister enjoyed among the broad masses of the people. Finding themselves in a clear minority, the adherents of the "syndicate" started to cross over to the faction which came out on top in the conflict. Actually it was the "syndicate" that was excluded from the INC--and it ceased to exist. Indira Gandhi's success in her bold struggle with the "bosses" of the INC contributed enormously to the growth of her popularity and prestige.

The decision to nationalize 14 of the largest private capital commercial banks was made in July, 1969. This was an important forward step. In providing the motive for this decision, Indira Gandhi stressed its connection with the conception of a "society on a socialist model", proceeding from the fact that "the key branches of the economy should be the property of the government and under its control".



One of the tasks of nationalization was the "liquidation of the dominance of certain groups", for, as Indira Gandhi declared in the Council of States: "One cannot refute the fact that the establishment of control of the banking system by the major business groups has to a significant degree contributed to the growth of monopolies in the private sector".

Broad sectors of the populace reacted enthusiastically to nationalization of the banks, and also to the loss of privileges of the Indian princes. But the reactionary forces tried to spoil these measures, declaring them illegal, citing decisions of the Supreme Court. This was not the first time that the judicial authorities had been used to defend the interests of the privileged classes. J. Nehru had encountered the very same situation in 1951 and 1955 when the courts, in opposing agrarian reform, wanted to bestow upon themselves the exclusive right of interpreting the constitution. But Nehru defended the premise that parliament is the highest organ of power, and spoiled the plans of the reaction. Indira Gandhi took the very same path. She did not permit the courts to be turned into a weapon for the reaction in the socio-political struggle.

The next parliamentary elections were called for March 1971. Indira Gandhi waged her election campaign under the slogan, "Put an end to poverty", and promised to allocate significant funds for state aid to the peasants, and also credits to the poor. Congress gained an impressive victory.

But soon the situation became more complex--specifically as a result of the development of events on the Indian subcontinent. In East Pakistan dissatisfaction with the discriminatory policy of the central authorities had long since ripened. The Awami League party, which enjoyed the support of the masses, demanded reorganization of the government on a federal basis.

In the elections held at the beginning of 1971, this party and its leader Mujibur Rahman won a total victory. Pakistani authorities responded with massive repression, which began on 25 March. The next day, Mujibur Rahman declared the founding of the Republic of Bangladesh. Guerrilla forces opposed the Pakistani Army, which tried to drown in blood the movement for self-determination in former East Bengal. Millions of refugees fled to India...

Pakistan's efforts to hold onto its eastern province at all costs were given the full support of the ruling circles of the USA and China, openly inciting Pakistan, which not only waged a policy of genocide against the people of East Bengal, but also threatened the security of India.

Under these conditions the government led by Indira Gandhi took bold and wise action aimed at strengthening India's international prestige. On 9 August 1971, the treaty of peace, friendship and cooperation with the USSR was signed. This was a logical result of the friendly and neighborly relations which had already existed between the two countries for more than 15 years. The treaty raised these relationships to a higher level, expanded their sphere, gave them stability, and opened new prospects before them. In the alarming situation which had taken shape on India's borders, it was taken as evidence of the support of the Soviet Union to the policy of the government of Indira Gandhi, and of the young state of Bangladesh.

In early December, 1971, Pakistan's air force subjected Indian military air bases to a bombing attack. In response to this, India declared war on Pakistan, and then recognized the republic of Bangladesh. The military operations turned out very successfully for India, and, owing to the total support of the people of Bangladesh, quickly led to the total defeat of Pakistan.

These actions of the Indian government were very popular among the people. The elections in the states in early 1972 showed that congress was just at the point of regaining the positions it had lost. However, the secondary results of the victory soon came out as well. India had given asylum to 10 million refugees from former East Pakistan, providing them with housing, clothes and food. Caring for the refugees cost the country \$3,000,000.00 a day. The economy of the new state, ravaged by the short but difficult war, required support as well. This additional burden placed on the state budget of India coincided with a new drought, which during 1971 and 1972 affected the whole country. It became necessary to increase grain imports. And the oil crisis let itself be felt as well... The program for the struggle with poverty was not fulfilled. Unemployment and hunger intensified the social contradictions.

Under these conditions the opposition, which had suffered a major defeat in the last elections, came back to life. As early as 1971 the "socialist" Raj Narain, chief opponent of Indira Gandhi in the Rae Bareilly district where she cast her ballot, accused her of violating the election laws and appealed to the court with a demand to declare the results of the election invalid. At that time this suit went almost unnoticed--they treated it as an extravagant trick. But in the situation of worsening social misfortune, agitation began to billow around her. The hard times through which the country was passing were exploited by the opposition to their own ends, and the scandalous sensation suited them just fine. The judicial authorities, who had long been attempting to counter the progressive measures of the INC were this time once again drawn into the political game. In 1975 a judge of the Supreme Court of Allahabad accused Indira Gandhi of corruption and declared her election to parliament invalid. And the judge's decision placed in doubt the legality of her remaining in the post of prime minister. The opposition seized on this decision and, in spite of the intention of Indira Gandhi to appeal it to the Supreme Court, waged an extensive campaign to retire the prime minister. Law and order in the country was shaken, and speculation, theft and violence reached unprecedented proportions.

Under these conditions, a state of emergency was declared in India on 26 June 1975. At the same time a 20-point program was announced, which envisaged raising the living standard of the destitute populace. They were based on the Ten Points introduced in 1967, which to a significant degree remained unfulfilled. The INC promised to complete the agrarian reforms, to promote the development of rural areas, to render aid to the poor peasants, and to guarantee stable prices for food, for basic necessities and so on. This was a good program, but, I repeat, it remained unfulfilled.

Two factors contributed to her return to power. First, her decisiveness, indefatigability and her ability to convince the masses. And secondly, the inability of the "Janata" association coalition to propose an effective and dynamic development program to the country. "Janata" devoted all its efforts to criticizing the former leaders. The bloc, united only in its opposition to the INC, quickly fell apart and lost the faith of the voters. In the extraordinary elections of 1980, caused by the government crisis, the INC was not only victorious, it also received two-thirds of the seats in the parliament. And Indira Gandhi once again became prime minister.

The last years in the life of Indira Gandhi coincided with the worsening situation in the world, with the attempts of imperialism to regain by violence its lost positions, and were marked with the revitalization of her activities in the international arena. Under her leadership India assumed an unswervingly consistent anti-imperialist position.

In the sphere of domestic policy this period was characterized by the worsening of internecine conflicts, as well as a tendency toward regionalism and separatism. And the struggle to guarantee the unity of India and her peoples came to the forefront. It was precisely in the course of this struggle that Indira Gandhi perished. She was murdered in retaliation for her decisive actions against separatism, extremism and terrorism.

As it was for Nehru, true nationalism was for Indira Gandhi inseparable from anti-imperialism and antimilitarism. Anti-imperialism led her to develop the most important legacy of Nehru--friendship with the Soviet Union. When Indira Gandhi became prime minister, two metallurgical plants and a major machine-building plant were already in operation, built with the aid of the USSR. But in the following years Soviet-Indian cooperation took on unprecedented scope, solidity, and a universal nature.

Currently two new metallurgical plants are being built in India with the participation of the Soviet Union, and oil deposits were discovered by Soviet people. Cooperation with the USSR embraces many spheres of the economy, culture, trade, and politics. An economic potential was established with the aid of the Soviet Union, which can be used in the interests of defense. In India's trade turnover, the USSR has taken second place. "We are pleased with our friendship with the Soviet Union and are proud of it. It has withstood the test of time and serves as a reliable support for us in these hard times", said Indira Gandhi. "This friendship has economic advantages, and it is precisely this that has given us the capability of strengthening our industrial and machine-building base, and developing trade as well".

Defending the peace, fighting for the principles of detente, trust and mutually-advantageous cooperation, is yet another sphere in which Indira Gandhi carried on the tradition of her father.

In the area of domestic policy, Indira Gandhi placed primary importance on preserving the unity of India. She protected it persistently and purposefully, and saw in it the guarantee of the country's independence and progress.

Reliance on the state sector was the main principle of Indira Gandhi's economic policy. She succeeded in fending off all attacks by those who opposed this principle, and in strengthening the state sector as the most important part of the national economy.

The state sector has proven its viability and has become the backbone of India's industrialization.

"Promises Which Must be Kept" is the name of a book about Indira Gandhi, which came out in 1980. The title was selected by author Vishnu Datt from the famous poem by Robert Frost, which Nehru loved. And it is as if this was the farewell speech for public opinion of Indira Gandhi--a major political figure, who had once again returned to power. These parting words one must presume, remain in force for those who came to power after her as well.

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## FORM, ROLE OF VANGUARD PARTIES IN SOCIALIST-ORIENTED STATES

Moscow NAUCHNYY KOMMUNIZM in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb 85 pp 99-108

[Article by Yu.V. Irkhin, candidate of historical sciences and lecturer, under the rubric "Contemporary World Revolutionary Process": "Formation of the Vanguard Parties of the Working People in Socialist-Oriented Countries"]

[Excerpts] A characteristic feature in the development of a number of countries with a socialist orientation is the gradual transition of revolutionary democracy to the positions of scientific socialism and its formation of vanguard parties of the working people. "In a number of countries taking the path of socialist development," notes B.N. Ponomarev, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and candidate for membership in the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, "the vanguard worker parties and organizations that are in power (in the People's Republic of Angola, the People's Republic of Mozambique, Socialist Ethiopia, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, the People's Republic of the Congo, and elsewhere, for example) proclaim Marxism-Leninism to be the ideological and political basis of their work. Ever more obvious is the tendency toward the uniting of the advanced groups of the national-liberation movement with scientific socialism. And this establishes additional preconditions for the gradual transition of a number of young national states to the implementation of socialist reforms" (B.N. Ponomarev, "Zhivoye i deystvennoye ucheniye marksizma-leninizma" [Living and Effective Teaching of Marxism-Leninism], Moscow, 1983, p 115).

Especially topical in this connection is the question of the inherent laws and special features of the transition of the revolutionary-democratic forces in the liberated countries to the positions of scientific socialism as well as the question of the paths for their formation of vanguard worker parties. The problem of the establishment of vanguard parties and their practical work under contemporary conditions is moving to the center of the ideological struggle in questions of the development of socialist-oriented states. Understanding the significance of the establishment of ruling vanguard parties in the group of socialist-oriented countries, bourgeois ideologists are trying to discredit their policies and undermine the confidence of the working people in them. Widespread in contemporary bourgeois political understanding are versions about the "prematurity" of the formation of vanguard parties, the "absence of a democratic spirit" in their establishment, and even to the effect that the very idea and structure of these parties has supposedly been mechanically copied from foreign models and practically forced upon them from outside. In this

connection, it is stressed in every way that the vanguard party is an "alien" and "unacceptable" phenomenon for the conditions of the "traditional societies" of Asia, Africa and Latin America (see: "Socialism in Sub-Saharan Africa," Berkeley, 1979; "Africa and International Communism," Leningrad, 1980).

It is clear that the revolutionary democracy of Asia, Africa and Latin America is not uniform politically and ideologically. Its revolutionary nature and democratic spirit are at different levels in the various countries, depending primarily upon the interrelationship of the social and political forces and currents composing it and upon the different level of their perception and understanding of the basic ideas of scientific socialism. Because of this, there are also differences in the practice of revolutionary-democratic regimes.

The left wing of contemporary revolutionary democracy, that is, those of its strata and groups that are going over to the positions of scientific socialism, is often defined as the "second generation" of revolutionary democracy. This "generation," which was at the head of a number of countries with a socialist orientation in the 1970's, differs from the revolutionaries-democrats of the 1960's (or national democracy) in that it more consistently speaks out from antiimperialist and anticapitalist positions, cooperates with the world communist movement and the world socialist system, and relies on the working masses. Great influence on the formation of the world view of revolutionary democracy is exerted by the example of real socialism as well as the active support to antiimperialist revolutionary-democratic movements by the socialist community. The document of the Conference of the Communist and Worker Parties of the Countries of Tropical and Southern Africa states that "over the last few years, more and more revolutionary democrats have gone over to a positive point of view in relation to Marxism-Leninism" (RABOCHIY KLASS I SOVREMENNYY MIR, No 4, 1979, p 140).

Representatives of the revolutionary democracy of Asia and Africa have repeatedly stressed that their transition to the platform of scientific socialism was the result of a lengthy struggle with imperialism and internal reaction, in the course of which some positions or other of Marxism-Leninism were examined in practice and assimilated. Precisely because the ideas of scientific socialism are demonstrating their effectiveness and actuality under the conditions of the liberated countries as well, they are being more and more widely studied and applied in practice by revolutionary democracy. "As a doctrine uniting Marxism with the practice of the revolutionary movement," noted Mengistu Haile-Mariam, chairman of the Provisional Military Administrative Council of Socialist Ethiopia, "Leninism is for us a compass in determining the proper path for the development of our country" ("Greetings to the 26th CPSU Congress From the Communist, Worker, National-Democratic and Socialist Parties," Moscow, 1981, p 410). S. Vieira, member of the FRELIMO Party Central Committee and minister of the People's Republic of Mozambique, writes: "...Marxism-Leninism is not just a book theory for us. It was precisely in the course of the struggle that the interests of the people became more and more clear and contradicted the interests of the colonial exploiters and pretenders to the role of national exploiters. It was precisely in the process of the fight for liberation that we learned to draw lessons from experience and sharpened the ideology and theoretical instruments of our struggle" ("Natsional'no-osvoboditel'noye dvizheniye na

poroge 80-x. S kem ono?" [National Liberation Movement on the Threshold of the 80's. With Whom Is It?], Prague, 1982, p 265).

Along with the left wing, there are also other currents in contemporary revolutionary democracy. Despite their consistent anti-imperialism and antifeudalism, their representatives are characterized by the fact that they are still accepting only individual elements of scientific socialism, do not separate the working class from the mass of the working people, and overemphasize the role of religion and traditions in the struggle for a socialist orientation (see: "Politicheskiye partii sovremennoy Afriki" [Political Parties of Contemporary Africa], Moscow, 1984, pp 11-19). E.M. Primakov notes: "The 'second generation' of the socialist-oriented countries that took this path in the 1970's is carrying out its development or a significant part of it...with vanguard revolutionary parties at the head, whereas national-revolutionary elements are basically at the head of the countries conditionally related 'to the first generation' (beginning of the noncapitalist transition in the 1960's)" (E.M. Primakov, "Vostok posle krakha kolonial'noy sistemy" [The East After the Collapse of the Colonial System], Moscow, 1982, p 107).

As a whole, the process of the evolution of revolutionary democracy in Asia and Africa toward scientific socialism in the 1970's through the mid-1980's was expressed as follows.

Scientific socialism has been declared the theoretical basis of the work of the ruling revolutionary democracy in Angola, Afghanistan, Democratic Yemen, the Congo, Mozambique, Socialist Ethiopia and several other countries with a socialist orientation.

The left wing of revolutionary democracy has recognized the class character of society in the liberated countries and has armed itself with the Marxist-Leninist doctrine on the class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The program documents of the left wing of revolutionary democracy provide a scientific determination of the nature of the contemporary epoch, its basic contradiction, and main motive forces.

The left wing of revolutionary democracy is creatively applying in practice the most important positions of Marxist-Leninist teaching on the party of the new type. Under the unique conditions of the liberated countries, vanguard worker parties are formed that can be viewed as a transition form toward the establishment of a communist party.\*

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\*Vanguard parties are defined in different ways in contemporary literature. In our view, the determination "vanguard revolutionary-democratic worker party" is the most felicitous. All of the words are "working" in it. "Vanguard": having accepted scientific socialism as the most advanced ideology upon which to base its work; "revolutionary-democratic": not yet a communist party; and "of the workers": accepting primarily representatives of the workers and peasants into its ranks. For brevity, the article uses the terms "vanguard workers parties" or "vanguard parties."

The formation of vanguard parties is a consequence of the intensification of the radicalization process in revolutionary democracy, a very important organizational and political condition for its transition to the positions of scientific socialism, and an inherent law of the development of society along the socialist-oriented path. "Revolutionary experience shows," states the document of the Conference of Communist and Worker Parties of the Countries of Tropical and Southern Africa, "that only with the help of the establishment of an anti-imperialist and anticapitalist revolutionary organization relying on the support of the working people and other patriotic strata of the population is it possible to be consistent in carrying out and defending fundamental social and economic reforms. The transformation process has already begun in many organizations that started as broad revolutionary-democratic movements. We welcome this tendency and consider them part of the developing and growing group of Marxist revolutionary vanguards on our continent" (RABOCHIY KLASS I SOVREMENNY MIR, No 4, 1979, p 140).

Included among the vanguard labor parties are the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) established in 1965 and leading the movement of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan along the socialist-oriented path since 1978, the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola-Labor Party (MPLA-Labor Party) in 1977, the Yemeni Socialist Party (YSP) in 1978, the Congolese Workers Party (PCT) in 1969, the FRELIMO Party (Mozambique) in 1977, the Ethiopian Workers Party (RPE) in 1984, and others.

In striving to distort the essence of the process of the formation of vanguard parties in socialist-oriented countries, bourgeois ideologists are trying to present it as a chance phenomenon. It is characteristic that they are calling the socialist-oriented countries, where vanguard parties are in power, "communist regimes," and the process of the formation of these parties "Afrocommunism of the 1980's" (see: "Communist Powers and Sub-Saharan Africa," Stanford, 1981, pp 115-160; "The Communist Third World," New York, 1982; "Marxist Government. A World Survey," Leningrad, 1981, Vol 1-3, pp 2-5). With such a tendentious approach, they completely dismiss the problem of the inherent laws and features in the development of revolutionary democracy and the establishment of vanguard parties. The essence of such methods involves the hanging of propaganda labels on the revolutionary-democratic regimes and the departure from the objective analysis of reality.

Indeed, does the designation of the socialist-oriented states as "communist" or even "socialist" really correspond to the truth? Of course not. The leaders of Socialist Ethiopia, the only socialist-oriented country in Africa where the official state name contains the word "socialist," have repeatedly noted that it is not an appraisal of the existing social and political order but a goal sought by the people (PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA, No 4, 1978, p 40).

Also unscientific is the attempt to declare that the vanguard worker parties are communist. Vanguard parties are transition parties from the revolutionary-democratic to the Marxist-Leninist parties. These parties have features in common, above all the acknowledgement of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism as the party's ideological platform and purposeful work to increase the role of the working class in social and political life.



But there are also substantial differences. In the first place, most members of vanguard parties do not have the essential theoretical Marxist-Leninist training, and many of them are familiar with only isolated positions of scientific communism.

In the second place, vanguard and communist parties have different social bases. The largest part of the members of vanguard parties is composed of representatives of semiproletarian and nonproletarian strata of the working people still retaining petty bourgeois psychology, habits and consciousness. There is, of course, a proletariat in the vanguard parties, and its share in them is growing continually. To a considerable degree, however, this is the forming working class that is still closely linked to the countryside.

The table contains some information on the vanguard parties.

(1) Страна	(2) Насе- ление, млн. чел.	(3) Название партии	(4) Число парт- организаций	(5) Число членов и кандида- тов в члены партии, тыс.	Из них	
					(6) рабо- чих %	(7) кре- стьян, %
Народная Республика Конго (8)	1,5	Конголезская партия труда (КПТ) (9)	400	8,7	30	14,5
Народная Демократическая Республика Йемен (10)	2	Йеменская социалистическая партия (ЙСП) (11)	1400	28	25	12,8
Народная Республика Ангола (12)	8,2	Народное движение за освобождение Анголы — Партия труда (МДЛА — Партия труда) (13)	2765	31	28	2
Народная республика Мозамбик (14)	12,1	Партия Фрелимо (15)	4400	130	18,9	53,5
Демократическая Республика Афганистан (16)	16	Народно-демократическая партия Афганистана (НДПА) (17)	2000	120	16	14
Социалистическая Эфиопия (18)	32,6	Рабочая партия Эфиопии (РПЭ) (19)	900		19,2	11,8
(20) Социальный состав делегатов учредительного съезда РПЭ						

Key:

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1. Country   | 13. Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola-Labor Party (MPLA-Labor Party)  |
| 2. Population, in millions                                     | 14. People's Republic of Mozambique   |
| 3. Party name  | 15. FRELIMO Party   |
| 4. Number of party organizations                               | 16. Democratic Republic of Afghanistan  |
| 5. Number of party members and candidate members, in thousands | 17. People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA)                               |
| 6. Of these, percent workers                                   | 18. Socialist Ethiopia  |
| 7. Percent peasants  | 19. Ethiopian Workers Party (RPE)   |
| 8. People's Republic of the Congo                              | 20. Socialist composition of the delegates to the constituent congress of the RPE |
| 9. Congolese Workers Party (PCT)                               |   |
| 10. People's Republic of Yemen                                 |   |
| 11. Yemeni Socialist Party (YSP)                               |   |
| 12. People's Republic of Angola                                |   |

See: ARGUMENTY I FAKTY, No 39, 1984, p 6; ZA RUBEZHOM, No 40, 1984, p 10.

The accumulated experience now allows one to speak about the basic paths in the formation of vanguard parties. The diversity, breadth and creative character of this process serve as a graphic refutation of bourgeois ideas about the "accidental nature" of the establishment of vanguard parties.

Although quite similar in its social and political content, the process of the formation of vanguard worker parties in various countries differs substantially in the forms, methods and speed of their organizational-political and ideological formation. The following directions have been traced for this process:

First, on the basis of the consolidation of separate revolutionary-democratic and Marxist-Leninist groups and organizations into a single party (Afghanistan).

Second, on the basis of ideological rapprochement and cooperation followed by the uniting of various anti-imperialist revolutionary-democratic organizations and tendencies (Democratic Yemen).

Third, on the basis of the political-ideological and organizational reorganization of mass anti-imperialist fronts and the establishment of vanguard worker parties on their foundation (Angola, Mozambique and elsewhere).

Fourth, based upon a revolutionary military organization evolving toward scientific socialism and cooperating with other revolutionary forces (Ethiopia and elsewhere).

Fifth, on the basis of the left wing of a ruling revolutionary-democratic party (the Congo and elsewhere).

It is obvious that the contemporary processes of the formation of vanguard parties "do not simply repeat the historical experience of the rise of similar parties (for example: Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party--Yu. Irkhin) but bring much that is new and original into the theory and practice of the contemporary socialist orientation" ("Vostok: rubezh 80-x godov" [The East: Frontier of the 1980's], Moscow, 1983, p 182).

As has been repeatedly stressed by the leaders of the vanguard parties, the turning to scientific socialism is not paying tribute to "revolutionary fashion" but is a vital necessity. The establishment of these parties also represents the result of the comprehension of the historical experience of the communist parties, especially the CPSU. "The long and glorious path of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union," noted Mengistu Haile-Mariam in addressing the 26th CPSU Congress, "is a school for the communists of the entire world, in which they study the laws of the political struggle and the experience in carrying out social reforms" ("Greetings to the 26th CPSU Congress from Communist, Worker, National-Democratic and Socialist Parties," p 413). In characterizing the ideological and political program of the Congolese Workers Party, D. Sassou-Nguesso, chairman of its Central Committee, stressed that the organizational structure, orientation and ultimate goal of a party are "determined on the basis of the revolutionary experience of the parties of a new type, the most vivid example of which is the party of Lenin" (KOMMUNIST, No 3, 1980, p 88).

Under today's conditions, the ideological struggle revolves around the establishment of each new vanguard party. This struggle has been activated in particular in connection with the formation of the Ethiopian Workers Party (RPE). The organs of imperialist information and bourgeois political commentators have tried and are trying in every way to sow distrust among the working people and the public toward the RPE, using such worn-out propaganda tricks as the declaration of the "prematurity" and "chance nature" of the establishment of the RPE and the "absence of a democratic spirit" in its formation, etc. These "considerations" are expressed, for example, in the book of the bourgeois political commentators M. Molyneux and F. Halliday from Great Britain and the Netherlands (see: F. Halliday and M. Molyneux, "The Ethiopian Revolution," Leningrad, 1981, p 112).

To refute the bourgeois falsifications of the process of the formation of the RPE, it is essential to use scientific-class positions to reveal the historical logic and inherent laws for the development of the Ethiopian revolution.

The first attempt to establish the organizational preconditions of the party was undertaken in 1977 by means of the mechanical unification of five different semilegal political organizations that arose in the first year of the revolution, having declared their support for the Provisional Military Administrative Council, and through the socialist-oriented course that they proclaimed. However, this association (the Union of Marxist-Leninist Organizations of Ethiopia, the SMLOE) did not last long, for, as practice showed, some of the organizations included in the union were revolutionary in name only. They soon departed from the socialist-oriented course. It also turned out that a number of their members had only a superficial notion of the scientific theory and tasks involved in the establishment of a vanguard party. In February 1979, the SMLOE decided to dissolve itself and form a single organizational center for the establishment of a party, where true fighters for socialism were to be accepted, people with an adequate knowledge of Marxism-Leninism. On 18 December 1979, they established the Commission for the Organization of the Ethiopian Workers Party (KOPTE). Mengistu Haile-Mariam was elected as its chairman (see: MESKEREM, No 1, 1980, p 12).

The KOPTE was still not considered a party but as special organizing body, where its members could acquire experience in party work. Members were accepted into the KOPTE on an individual basis, and particular attention was paid to increasing the number of workers. In 1983, workers already accounted for 21.7 percent of the KOPTE, peasants 3 percent, and office workers and military people 75 percent. The ideological training of the future party members was and is being carried out on the basis of Marxist-Leninist study groups (6,500), and the political and ideological education of the masses occurs through "revolutionary forums" (about 13,000 seminars organized at many enterprises and institutions, where there are lessons twice a week). The following press organs of the KOPTE Central Committee were founded: the newspaper SEPTOADER "Workers", and the journal MESKEREM ("September") (see: V.I. Sharyev, "Efiopiya shagayet v budushcheye" [Ethiopia Steps Into the Future], Moscow, 1984, p 56).

Experience has shown that the KOPTE is an original organizational form for training in the establishment of a vanguard party, one that has been tested by more than 5 years of prior experience in national revolutionary practice and is the only one acceptable under the conditions of Ethiopia.

The country's workers came to the RPE constituent congress with great achievements. Just in the last 6 years, industrial output in Ethiopia increased by 82 percent. By the time of the congress, 25 new factories and plants had gone into operation, including a tractor-assembly plant in Nazret, a cement plant in Muger, the country's largest textile factory in Kombolcha, and others. More than 1,000 peasant cooperatives were established, 11 million adults learned to read and write, the number of kindergartens increased by a factor of six, and the number of people covered by medical service more than doubled (see: ZA RUBEZHOM, No 38, 1984, p 4).

The establishment of the RPE is very significant. "The formation of the ruling party conforming to the ideas of scientific socialism represents an important stage in the development of the Ethiopian revolution," stressed K.U. Chernenko in congratulating Mengistu Haile-Mariam in connection with his being elected to the high office of general secretary of the RPE Central Committee (PRAVDA, 11 September 1984).

Especially important are the unique forms found in the process of preparing for the establishment of the vanguard party. "The greatest achievement of the country's workers is the establishment of the Workers Party of Ethiopia," said, in addressing the congress, G.V. Romanov, leader of the Soviet delegation, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. "In resolving this task, a task of truly historical importance, they demonstrated a creative approach and found unique forms and methods of party construction that correspond to specific national features" (PRAVDA, 8 September 1984).

The experience in the establishment of the RPE is a clear expression of the objective process of the transition of revolutionary democracy to the positions of scientific socialism, it is a natural result of the development of the national-democratic revolution in Ethiopia, and it is convincing evidence of the actuality of Marxist-Leninist teaching on the party of the new type as applied to the conditions of the socialist-oriented countries.

In the contemporary stage, the leading role of the vanguard parties in the socialist-oriented countries has been secured in the constitutions and other very important state and party documents. The vanguard parties are paying their closest attention to strengthening their political independence and overcoming centuries of backwardness as well as to the achievement of economic independence, the campaign against illiteracy, and the dissemination of the ideas of scientific socialism among the broad masses of the people.

The goal of the policy of the vanguard parties directed toward the consolidation and development of the state sector in industry and agriculture is to provide for the continual increase in the size of the working class. As a result of this policy, the number of workers in the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen

at the beginning of the 1980's already totaled more than 80,000 in a population of 2 million. In the People's Republic of the Congo, the working class comprised 40,000 people in the 1960's and more than 60,000 at the beginning of the 1980's; its share of the gainfully-employed population increased from 7 to 12 percent. In Ethiopia at the beginning of the 1980's, there were more than 80,000 factory and plant workers and about 310,000 agricultural workers. Just in the last 5 years in that country, 26,000 people came to work in industry. At the beginning of 1983, the working class in Afghanistan amounted to more than 100,000 people (see: ARGUMENTY I FAKTY, No 39, 1984, p 6).

These data refute the fabrications of bourgeois ideologists to the effect that the social structure of the developing socialist-oriented countries supposedly has a "nonclass character" and the working class either "does not exist" there or has no political "prospects" (see: P. Lloyd, "Classes, Crises and Coups: Themes in the Sociology of Developing Countries," Leningrad, 1981, pp 13, 128; idem, "A Third World Proletariat," Leningrad, 1982).

Worked out under the leadership of the vanguard parties and adopted in 1980 and 1981, the first five-year plan of Afghanistan, the second five-year plan of People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, and the ten-year development plan of Ethiopia foresee the construction in these countries of dozens of industrial enterprises and the creation of many thousands of jobs.

The formation of vanguard parties and their further evolution are certainly linked with their proletarianization and with the change in the social nature of these parties. It is a question of the formation of a conscientious proletarian core that will influence party policy. "The most important task," stressed Eduardo dos Santos, chairman of the MPLA-Labor Party, "is to transform workers from potential Marxists into convinced Marxists who are guided by this teaching in their practical work" (JOURNAL DE ANGOLA, No 1, 1980, p 81).

Considering this, the vanguard parties are paying a great deal of attention to the development of a trade-union movement and to the priority acceptance of advanced workers into their ranks, for which special appeals are organized. Under the leadership of the vanguard parties in the socialist-oriented countries, political schools have been established for the study of the theory of scientific socialism and a determined campaign against illiteracy is under way.

The process of the establishment of vanguard parties and of their further consolidation is extremely complex. Here there can be mistakes caused by objective difficulties and the lack of experience. The program documents of the vanguard parties reflect the striving of their leadership to accelerate the establishment of the preconditions for the building of a new society. Practice shows that the successful realization of this requires the accumulation of experience in political and operational work and the creative application of Marxism-Leninism and the general laws of development along the socialist-oriented path to the specific conditions of different countries.

The position expressed by V.I. Lenin in his conversation with the delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic in 1921 remains topical today for the determination of the prospects for the development of vanguard worker parties. He

gave a negative answer to the question "Should not a national-revolutionary party transform itself into a communist party?" V.I. Lenin stressed that "one party cannot 'transform itself' into another" and that "revolutionaries must still do a great deal of work on their own state, economic and cultural organization before...a proletarian mass is established that can later help in the 'transformation' of a national-revolutionary party into a communist party" (V.I. Lenin, "Polnoye sobraniye sochineniy" [Complete Works], Vol 44, p 233).

With the development of vanguard worker parties, the increase in the ideological level and the change in the social composition of the party members, the improvement of the methods for managing the state and society, and the consolidation of the principles of democratic centralism and intraparty democracy, the rank and file party members become more active and more responsible for the work of the party organization. All of this leads to a further increase in the efficiency of the party and to a strengthening of its leading role in society.

Of great importance for the improvement of the work of vanguard parties is the development of their ties with the international communist movement, the study of the experience in building socialism, and the support of the countries of the socialist community and other progressive forces. "We are grateful to all internationalists," noted Mengistu Haile-Mariam, "who provided and are providing the necessary help and support to our revolution in the achievement of historical successes and in the realization of the tasks before us. And in the future, in relying on the principles of proletarian internationalism, we will continue our efforts to strengthen further our ties with the Soviet Union, with other socialist countries, and also with revolutionary, democratic, and peace-loving forces throughout the world" (KOMMUNIST, No 13, 1984, p 98).

The formation of vanguard worker parties in the group of socialist-oriented countries is graphic evidence of the reality and vitality of Marxism-Leninism.

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9746

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## VOLUME ON THIRD WORLD VANGUARD PARTIES REVIEWED

Moscow NAUCHNYY KOMMUNIZM in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb 85 pp 149-151

[Review by Prof V.V. Lebedev, doctor of historical sciences, of book "Partii i revolyutsionnyy protsess v stranakh Azii i Afriki: sbornik statey" [Parties and the Revolutionary Process in the Countries of Asia and Africa: A Collection of Articles] with V.F. Li as chief editor, Nauka, Moscow, 1983, 251 pages]

[Text] The collection under review is dedicated to the relatively little-studied problems of the formation and development of the vanguard revolutionary-democratic parties of countries that have chosen the socialist-oriented path, to the ideological evolution of revolutionaries-democrats in the direction of Marxism-Leninism, to the inherent laws in the development of these states, and to some aspects of the political processes in the socialist-oriented countries.

The 14 articles of the collection have been assembled in 2 sections: "Parties and General Questions of Strategy for the Revolutionary Process in the Countries of Asia and Africa" and "Progressive Parties and the Ideological-Political Struggle in Individual Countries of Asia and Africa."

In our opinion, all of the articles on the problems can be divided into three groups.

The first group includes articles dedicated to the problems of the vanguard parties of the socialist-oriented countries. Foremost is the article of V.F. Li "Some Special Features of the Formation of a Vanguard Party in Socialist-Oriented States." On the basis of a specific historical study of the social and political conditions of these countries, the author comes to the conclusion that they are having a substantial influence on the formation of national-democratic parties in some countries and national-progressive parties of the revolutionary-front type in others. He convincingly shows the importance of the leading role of a vanguard party in a country. Of interest are the author's conclusions about the contradictions that the socialist-oriented countries are striving to overcome in the course of party construction and in carrying out economic and cultural reforms.

In Yu.N. Gavrilov's article, "Vanguard Parties and the New Generation of Revolutionary Democracy," specific examples of the ruling revolutionary parties of the countries choosing the socialist-oriented path are the basis for the conclusion about the possibility of the parties assuming a leading role only with

scientifically founded programs, the knowledge of the forms and methods of their practical realization, and the ability to organize the masses and to give them practical guidance in the reform process (see pp 32-35).

In the article "Evolution of the Organizational and Political Bases of the Vanguard Parties," in determining the type of revolutionary political organization for the developing countries, V.I. Maksimenko justifiably includes among the vanguard parties those that are guided by scientific socialism and have made the choice for socialism. Using the examples of the MPLA-PT [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola-Labor Party], FRELIMO, YSP [Yemen Socialist Party], KPT [Congolese Labor Party], PNRB [People's Revolutionary Party of Benin] and others, the author shows that the national historical features of these countries have a great influence on the process of the formation of vanguard parties.

A.M. Khazanov's article, "Transformation of the Overall Democratic Front Into a Party of the Vanguard Type (With the Example of the MPLA-PT and FRELIMO)" reveals the difficulties facing these parties in the course of their transformation and indicates ways to overcome these difficulties. The author considers that it is above all necessary to strengthen the ideological and educational work of the party among the masses and to eliminate shortcomings during the establishment of the state sector. "Historical experience," writes the author, "is evidence of the fact that revolutionary parties relying on deep-rooted ties with the working people and organizing their work on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist approach to the analysis of the social processes and specific tasks facing the society are capable of resolving the most complex problems and of overcoming any difficulties on the way to their objective" ( p 213).

The article of A.G. Kokiyeu, "Formation of the Ideological-Political Vanguard in the Ethiopian Revolution," is dedicated to fundamental stages of the long and complex process of the formation and consolidation of the revolutionary-democratic forces of the Ethiopian working people. He sees the reasons for the prolonged process of the formation of the party in this country primarily in the many years of struggle of the core of the developing party with ideological enemies and reactionary groupings.

The article of V.G. Korgun, "The People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan in the Struggle for the Social Liberation of the Working People," tells of the complex path of the formation and development of the party in Afghanistan. The PDPA, writes the author, gradually received the increasingly broad support of the masses. This occurred because the party was able to provide for unity in its own ranks, undertake effective measures to stimulate the work of mass democratic organizations, establish a National Patriotic Front, and improve the position of the peasantry.

In the second group of articles, the work of the revolutionary parties of the socialist-oriented countries is seen not as an independent problem but in close connection with other internal questions.

The article of V.G. Khoros, "Basic Ideological Tendencies in the Parties of National and Revolutionary Democracy," undertakes an attempt to reveal the ideological differences between the parties of national and revolutionary



democracy and to disclose the ideological variations in the revolutionary-democratic tendencies themselves. On the basis of a comparative analysis of the spread of Marxism-Leninism in the socialist-oriented countries, the author comes to the conclusion that it "not only is not sufficiently 'rooted' in the national conditions but also, in a manner of speaking, has not been fully 'suffered through' by them" (p 80).

The article of Yu.P. Dement'yev and D.V. Mosyakov, "Role of the United Front of National and Patriotic Forces of Kampuchea in the Building of a New Society," is of interest to the reader in that it provides little-known material on the work of the KFNSK (after 1981, the Kampuchean United Front for National Construction and Defense).

In the article, "Women's Organizations and the Women's Movement in Socialist-Oriented Countries (Social and Political Aspects)," T.F. Sivertseva shows the application of the Marxist-Leninist principle of drawing women into the struggle for socialism under the specific historical conditions of the liberated countries. Through women's organizations operating in all socialist-oriented countries, the ideas of scientific socialism are successfully propagandized among the female part of the population under consideration of the specific features of these countries, and their public work is activated. The author writes that there are substantial difficulties in the work among women, in particular in the fact that they still have a low level of education.

The article of L.A. Friedman, "Problems and Contradictions in the Economic Development of the Socialist-Oriented Countries (With the Example of Algeria)," examines the reasons for the difficulties of the National Liberation Front in the economic area and ways to overcome them. The author notes that in developing and carrying out the economic strategy of a party, it is essential to foresee certain complications and to attempt to work out measures to eliminate them.

The article of A.V. Malashenko, "Islam in the Ideology of a National-Democratic Party (With the Example of the National Liberation Front [FLN])," indicates the experience of the FLN in utilizing several postulates of Islam to explain to the masses the policies being carried out by the party. In the opinion of the author, the positive side of this experience is in the fact that the FLN is establishing a qualitative watershed between Islam and socialist ideas. FLN ideologists appeal to Islam only in cases relating to the restoration of spiritual values and to the preservation of the authority of the traditional family (see p 173).

In the article, "Bourgeois Political Science and the Problems in the Development of the Socialist-Oriented Countries," V.M. Mazurov emphasizes the basic directions in the research carried out by bourgeois political analysts on the problems in the development of the socialist-oriented countries and he critiques them.

The third group of articles includes articles on the political tendencies and parties in the capitalist-oriented countries.

The article of Ye.V. Golubeva, "The Oppositional Political Movement of the Middle Urban Strata," focuses attention on the clarification of the question of the possibility of having the middle urban strata of the Asian countries developing along the capitalist path take part in the progressive general democratic coalitions there. Having analyzed the political activeness of the parties and public organizations in which the urban middle strata are represented, the author comes to the conclusion that at the present time a general democratic coalition has still not come about in even one of the examined countries that is capable of establishing the real preconditions for the formation of a united national democratic front.

The article of V.A. Fedorov, "Left-Wing Extremism and Its Negative Influence on the Revolutionary Process in the Countries of the East," examines the social basis of the manifestation of left-wing extremism in these countries. The author traces the ideological and political views of left-wing extremists and reveals (with several examples) the adventurist practices of Philippine, Turkish and other ultraleftists. Their policies are opposed by the work of those truly revolutionary parties of the countries of the East (Lao People's Revolutionary Party and others) that, in strengthening their union with the world communist movement and on the basis of the principles of scientific socialism, were able to mobilize the broad popular masses in carrying out revolutionary reforms and involve them in the process of the socialist reorganization of society.

The collection of articles can be used in a course on scientific communism.

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9746

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INTERNATIONAL

AFRICA'S DEVELOPMENT, AMERICAN PRESENCE IN AFRICA

PM301403 [Editorial Report] Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 May 1985 first edition carries on page 4A 1,600-word A. Dzasokhov article entitled "Africa Against Imperialist Diktat." The article, pegged to Africa Liberation Day, says that, while the "continent has changed beyond recognition in recent decades," "development is uneven" and there are "both achievements and set backs." It rejects the argument that American aid to Africa is motivated by "Christian charity," claiming that America uses aid to exert "political and economic pressure." It also alleges that the United States is "stepping up its military presence" there it opines that "Africa is now going through a crucial period in its development. The question is, will the African states be able to maintain their unity and successfully counter the intensifying pressure of imperialist forces in all directions?" The writer finds comfort in the results of the 20th OAU session in ADDIS ABABA in 1984. The article concludes that the "USSR and the countries of Africa have a common platform." No further processing planned.

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NATIONAL

INTER-NATIONALITY CONTRADICTIONS AS COMPLEX NOW AS EARLIER

Moscow NAUCHNYY KOMMUNIZM in Russian No 5, Sep-Oct 84 (signed to press 13 Sep 84) pp 33-39

[Article by G. T. Tavadov, candidate of jurisprudence, docent: "Toward a Characterization of the Modern Stage of National Relations in the USSR"]

[Text] In recent years Marxist-Leninist theory of nations and national relations has received further creative development in a number of our party's documents. On the basis of scientific generalization and interpretation of the practice of national relations they have drawn important conclusions which are of immense theoretical and methodological significance. In the modern stage the party relies not so much on our successes and achievements--they are generally known--as on the problems which require constant attention and a prompt solution. "A well-thought-out, scientifically substantiated national policy," emphasized K. U. Chernenko, "is an indispensable part of our party's activity for improving developed socialism" (Materials of the Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee of 14-15 June 1983, Moscow, 1983, p 59).

It should be noted that in scientific literature we have not yet sufficiently disclosed the meaning and content of the principal party tenets regarding the national question. Moreover, in a number of important aspects of the theory and practice of national relations there are various viewpoints and questionable evaluations.

Scientific literature has no one single understanding of the essence of the national question under socialism. Certain authors assert that this problem has been resolved, resolved completely and finally, and therefore they remove it from the agenda. They think that the problems existing under the conditions of mature socialism and the tasks in the development of nations and national relations are incorrectly called the national problem, that in the period of developed socialism one can speak about national relations, but not about a national problem. Others defend the viewpoint according to which the national problem in the USSR in that concrete historical sense in which it came to us from the past has been fully resolved, once and for all. Proponents of this position think that the national issue in general cannot but exist since we have nations and national differences. There is also a third viewpoint. Its adherents hold the opinion that the national issue in

the aspect in which it has come down to it from the past has been solved only in its main and fundamental aspects.

What can researchers say about the aforementioned positions? First of all let us note that a strictly scientific approach to the consideration of the problem is possible only on the basis of Leninist methodological principles for investigating national relations. The most important of these is the requirement of a historical approach to the national issue, "placing it within a definite historical framework..." (Lenin, V. I., "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 25, p 263). "Most frequently and most of all," wrote V. I. Lenin, "the shortcoming in considering this issue is the lack of historical perspective and concreteness" (Lenin, V. I., "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," vol 30, p 349). Relying on these methodological prerequisites, let us consider the essence of the national issue and the historical conditions for its appearance and resolution.

The national issue can be discussed in the broad and narrow meanings of this concept. In the first meaning the national issue is the issue of the appearance, development, rapprochement and merging of nations. In the narrow, literal understanding of this concept the national issue is the issue of the liberation of nations from national oppression, the self-determination of nations, their achievement of free development, equal rights and equality with other nations. In other words, the essence of the national issue which originated with capitalism, lies in the antagonism of nations, their lack of confidence in one another, unequal rights and inequality of nations, and the division of these into the oppressors and the oppressed.

In the broad, global meaning the national issue will exist as long as nations themselves exist, as long as national differences remain. In this connection one can speak about three possible historical stages in the resolution of the national issue.

The first stage or aspect of the resolution of the national issue is the democratic stage. It is known that V. I. Lenin repeatedly used as an example of this resolution of the national problem the confederation of nations in Switzerland. In this case he was speaking about a partial, limited, inconsistent resolution of the national problem. The second stage of the resolution of the national problem is related to the age of socialism. In this stage the national issue in that concrete historical content in which it arose under the conditions of the class antagonistic relations and came to socialism is resolved completely and finally. The socialist resolution of the national issue means elimination of economic, political, national and cultural inequality of nations, the surmounting of the antagonism and the hostility of nations and nationalities, the hostility of nations to one another, and the ensuring of self-determination of nations and their free development. Moreover, in the process of the construction of socialism both new, socialist nations and principally new relations among them take form and develop, and these are characterized by fraternal friendship, close cooperation and international unity.

Our country was the first to demonstrate in practice the example of the socialist resolution of the national issue. As early as 1972 the party came

to the conclusion that the national issue in the form in which it reached us from prerevolutionary time had been fully resolved, resolved once and for all. This was a profoundly thought out formulation which takes into account the dialectics of the national issue. It contains, on the one hand, a statement of an indisputable historical fact--the resolution of that concrete national issue which came to socialism and, on the other hand, it made the stipulation that we are still speaking about certain aspects of the resolution of this problem, and namely about those which originated with the exploiter system. Thus it was pointed out that in the national issue there are other problems which will still have to be resolved. K. U. Chernenko drew attention to this when he noted that "the resolution of the national issue in the form in which it has come down to us from the past certainly does not mean that the national issue has been completely removed from the agenda" (Materials of the Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, 14-15 June 1983, p 59).

And so the national issue as such exists even in a mature socialist society. But its content, nature and ways and methods of resolution are principally different from those which were inherent in the national issue that was originated by capitalism. Under the conditions of improvement of developed socialism and the construction of communism there is a third stage in the resolution of the national issue which is characterized by further flourishing of nations and nationalities and consolidation of their unity in the process of the formation of a classless socialist society. In its entire volume the national issue will be resolved along with a complete merging of nations into a mature communist society.

The point that in a multinational country such as ours the national issue is not removed from the agenda even in the stage of mature socialism is of great principal significance for national problems even under modern conditions are complicated and require special attention. In the 1970's and the beginning of the 1980's in scientific and propagandistic literature a "facile," simplistic idea about national problems in the period of developed socialism prevailed. During these years they propagandized in all ways the following thesis: the main things have already been done--the national issue has been resolved, it has been removed from the agenda, and now one must speak about national relations of mature socialism, which are in need of management and regulation. They turned a deaf ear to the real problems that exist and the contradictions that arise, and discussed them perfunctorily, without in-depth analysis.

A large contribution to a correct understanding of the national issue was made by the 26th CPSU Congress. The congress pointed out the existence of a number of international problems which require keen attention and a prompt solution. The decree of the CPSU Central Committee, "On the 60th Anniversary of the Founding of the USSR," also pointed out certain crucial problems in the area of national relations. In the report by Yu. V. Andropov, "Sixty Years of the USSR," a considerable amount of space was devoted to considering a number of complicated national problems which exist in our multinational country. The tasks for improving international relations were discussed at the June (1983) and April (1984) plenums of the CPSU Central Committee by K. U. Chernenko.

The dynamics of the development of such a large multinational state as the USSR give rise to many problems which require constant attention and

solutions. The CPSU constantly keeps within its field of vision all processes and tendencies in the development of nations and the existing unsolved problems, and it promptly takes note of the problems that arise. Penetrating deeply into them it earmarks ways of solving them, creatively enriching Leninist principles of the national policy with the practice of developed socialism.

National relations are a complicated social subsystem of the overall social system (the socialist society, socialist social relations). In national relations one sees manifested the entire totality of social relations. Having relative stability, national relations nonetheless are characterized by dynamism, a changeover to a higher qualitative condition and the appearance of new phenomena in them. At the April (1984) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee K. U. Chernenko noted: "...We do not consider the existing international relations in our state to be frozen, unchanging, not subject to the influence of new circumstances and time" (Materials of the CPSU Central Committee of 10 April 1984, Moscow, 1984, p 14). Moreover it would be a mistake to think that the new circumstances and factors influence national relations in a simple way, only on the positive plane. The dialectics of the development of national relations are such that the aggressive movement to higher levels takes place in a contradictory way, through solving the complex, sometimes unexpected problems that arise. Thus, for example, it is known that economic and cultural progress of all nations and nationalities is accompanied by an increase in their national self-consciousness. This is a predictable, objective process. But under certain conditions the natural pride in the successes they have achieved can be transformed into national arrogance or conceit and can give rise to a tendency toward isolation and a disrespectful attitude toward other nations and nationalities.

Thus in a mature socialist society the national exists, but its essence is not the same as it was before; it has changed in keeping with the successes that have been achieved and the changes that have taken place in national relations. As was noted at the April (1984) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, we "must seriously penetrated into the content of the national issue and in the form in which it exists under the conditions of developed socialism" (ibid.). To put it briefly, the essence of the national issue under the conditions of the improvement of developed socialism consists in providing for further comprehensive flourishing and close coming together of socialist nations and nationalities, ever increasing strengthening of the international unity of the Soviet people and overcoming the remnants of the still-existing differences in the economic, social, scientific and cultural development of the nations and nationalities. Concretely, this means: a) increasing the material and spiritual potential of each republic and at the same time maximum utilization of this for harmonious development of the entire country; b) further equalization of economic, social and cultural-domestic conditions on the territorial plane; c) further development and strengthening of international unity, friendship and cooperation of the peoples of the USSR; d) concern for the development of Soviet culture which is multifaceted in its national forms and internationalist in its spirit and character; e) along with further development of the languages of the peoples of the USSR, extensive spreading of the Russian language as the language of international communication; f) consistent realization of the principle of internationalism

and the area of national relations and a correct combination of unionwide and republic interests, the interests of the entire Soviet people and each nation and nationality; g) a decisive battle against manifestations of chauvinism and nationalism, improving of the patriotic and international education: "...In practice, absolute elimination of the slightest national friction, the slightest national mistrust..." (Lenin, V. I., "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," vol 30, p 22).

All these are important and at the same time complicated issues on whose correct solution the successful advancement of our society along the path toward communism largely depends. As K. U. Chernenko emphasizes, in the area of national relations, "while developing existing organizational forms and methods of work which have proved themselves, it is necessary to be constantly searching for others which contribute to the flourishing of nations and to bringing them together" (Materials of the Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee of 10 April 1984, p 14). To do this it is necessary to comprehensively analyze the tendencies in the flourishing and the coming together of nations, and to tentatively study their specific interests and the peculiarities of the national psychology and culture, which are also extremely mobile categories.

The problems and tasks that are being resolved under the conditions of the improvement of developed socialism are essentially different both in terms of character and in terms of content from the problems which came down to us as a heritage from the past and have been fully resolved once and for all. We are now speaking about problems of interrelations among nations under the conditions of the unity which has been achieved, when there is a new social and international community of people--the Soviet people. We are speaking about a new stage in the development of national relations, about a different content in the national issue. Therefore, one cannot agree with those who think that even in the stage of developed socialism, essentially, we are continuing to solve those same problems which existed during the period of the construction of socialism. Thus if during that period basic attention was devoted to more rapid progress of nations and nationalities which were backward in their development and the ensuring of actual equality of nations, now, when this equality has been achieved, the main thing is to increase the contribution of each republic to the country's economy and to solve economic problems in order to increase the effectiveness of the entire USSR national economy. While previously basic attention was devoted to the creation and consolidation of the national statehood, now the main thing is to utilize all forms of national statehood for the further strengthening of the international unity of the Soviet people and their homelands--the USSR.

But it would be wrong to draw the conclusion on the basis of this that the current problems are less complicated and do not require special efforts or a search for new ways and forms of solving them and accounting for all the fine points of the matter. The national issue even in the form in which it exists under the conditions of developed socialism require special concern and constant attention. "It is important to promptly reveal the problems and contradictions which arise here and to skillfully resolve them," emphasized K. U. Chernenko (Materials of the Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, 14-15 June 1983, p 59).



It must be recognized that with respect to national relations we rarely use the concept "contradiction" any more. Yet scientific management of national relations presupposes all-around accounting for and resolution of contradictions that arise during the process of the development of nations. These contradictions differ in nature, origin, role and position in the development of national relations. But there is no doubt that by nature they have nothing in common with antagonism. As M. P. Kim correctly notes, these contradictions "must be regarded as a means of overcoming the essential differences between nations, as a means of bringing them together" (Kim, M. P., "Problemy Teorii i Istorii Real'nogo Sotsializma" [Problems of the Theory and History of Real Socialism], Moscow, 1983, p 426).

Let us take, for example, such an extremely important issue in national relations as the flourishing and coming together of nations. When elucidating this issue many researchers play down or simply do not notice the complexity of this process and its contradictory nature. They emphasize only the unified nature of the tendencies of flourishing and coming together, although they are speaking about a dialectical unity which presupposes a certain contradiction. The flourishing of nations and their coming together are contradictory tendencies which are organically interconnected and which create an overall predictable process. These tendencies in national development constitute a unity of oppositions in which the unity and the development of nations is expressed in their overall international basis and communist direction, and the opposition is expressed in the differences in the two tendencies, their relative independence and interaction. Herein lies the dialectical contradiction: all-around development (flourishing) of nations acts as a condition and prerequisite for their coming together and future merging. At the same time the very fact of their coming together leads to an erasure of national peculiarities, to a narrowing of the sphere of the specifically national elements in the structure of nations. This contradiction will be resolved with the merging of the nations.

The harmonious unity of the flourishing and merging of nations cannot be interpreted in the sense of a "balance" or "equilibrium" of these tendencies. Such an understanding is metaphysical in its basis since it does not take into account the leading aspect of the "unity of opposites," and does not emphasize the aspect of the interconnection and interaction of these tendencies; they are essentially regarded as independent processes which are developing in parallel.

Under the conditions of socialism the development of nations and relations among them take place through resolution of contradictions. They are distinguished in terms of origin, levels and spheres of action. Taking this into account, one can point out the following causes for the existence of these contradictions: remnants of the past in the levels of economic and sociocultural development of nations and in the daily life and psychology of the people; the contradictory development of the national aspect itself: the contradictions between the social and the ethnic, between the new, progressive, and the old, outdated, and so forth; the contradictory unity of the flourishing and coming together, the national-specific and the international-general; the still-remaining unequal conditions and opportunities for economic and cultural growth, the social differences in the

territorial aspect; differences in demographic process, the natural growth of the population of nations and nationalities, and so forth. The subjective causes include omissions in planning and distribution of production, inadequate accounting for the specific interests of the nations, and so forth.

In terms of the level and spheres of effect one can single out the following groups of contradictions.

The first group includes contradictions which are related to solving the problem of a correct combination of the interests of each nation and nationality and the interests of the Soviet people as a whole. The interests of each individual nation and the interests of the entire Soviet nation coincide for the most part. But this does not rule out the possibility that national interests, in individual concrete issues, can diverge from international ones. The fact is that statewide, unionwide interests are not simply the sum of the interests of the republics. The interests of the republics and statewide interests interpenetrate with one another and relate to one another as the part to the whole. Statewide interests are a phenomenon of a qualitatively higher order. They do not deny the interests of the republic, but reflect the most essential aspects of them.

The specific interests of the republics are determined by objective factors. The formation of these interests is effected primarily by a certain kind of specialization of the economy which is conditioned by the public division of labor, the unequal economic potentials of the republics, and the natural and climatic peculiarities of their development. Actually, this also determines the fact that, for instance, from the point of view of the interests of the given republic the solution to a concrete economic problem can be important and necessary, but on the plane of the interests of the entire Soviet nation it is not the same. Since the society frequently is unable to solve the practical problems equally and all at once and have to turn to a certain sequence, temporary contradictions can arise between current national interests and the interests of the Soviet people as a whole.

The second group is composed of contradictions which can arise among the national republics. Under socialism the fundamental interests of the nations coincide. But a community of interests does not eliminate, but presupposes the existence of specific interests of the nations. This is explained primarily by the specific nature of the conditions of the life of each individual nation: the peculiarities of the natural environment, the level of economic development, the degree of provision with personnel, and so forth. The differences in the conditions for life can give rise to certain contradictions among the republics. They are possible when solving regional economic problems: in questions of the utilization of natural resources, irrigation, installations, transportation communications, the fulfillment of interrepublic cooperative deliveries, and so forth. Certain amounts of friction are possible because of the differences in the level and conditions for the life of the population of the republics, the degree of their supply with industrial goods, food products and so forth.

The third group includes contradictions which are possible within the framework of national states themselves and national-state formations. All

Soviet republics are multinational in terms of the composition of their population. This factor contributes to the coming together of nations and to their internationalist development. Each Soviet republic is a unified friendly multinational collective. But in practice there can arise contradictions between representatives of the indigenous nation and nonindigenous nationalities. The grounds for this can be the selection of personnel and their advancement in party and state agencies according to their nationality, that is, mainly individuals of the indigenous nation; the creation of preferential conditions for them when solving various issues; and also the underestimation of the specific interests of nonindigenous nationalities in the areas of language, daily life and culture. These phenomena can, on the one hand, give rise to a feeling of haughtiness, self-satisfaction and arrogance among representatives of the indigenous nation and, on the other hand, they can evoke a feeling of indignation and dissatisfaction on the part of representatives of nonindigenous nationalities.

The fourth group includes contradictions that arise among representatives of various nationalities in various collectives. The multinational nature of the collective contributes to close communication among representatives of various nationalities and to a strengthening of their mutual confidence. At the same time the multinational composition of the collective includes the danger of the appearance of contradictions that are international in nature. This takes place, for example, in cases in which one or another labor or personal conflict assumes national coloring. Such conflicts and collisions can also arise in educational institutions, scientific institutions and creative collectives if privileges are created there for the indigenous nationality and thus rights are violated and interests of representatives of other nationalities are encroached upon.

When analyzing the causes, the nature and the forms of manifestation of contradictions in the area of national relations one should keep in mind the following. In the first place, these contradictions are not antagonistic in nature and do not lead to harsh encounters and social conflicts. In the second place, these contradictions are promptly revealed and resolved on the basis of the scientifically developed policy of the CPSU in its practical activity. In the third place, all Soviet peoples are interested in overcoming these contradictions and their resolution leads not to a weakening, but a strengthening of the unity of nations and nationalities of the USSR. Because of the Leninist national policy of the party, the Soviet system and the absence of social antagonisms in our country, we have all the objective and subjective prerequisites for promptly resolving the contradictions that arise in the area of national relations.

Summing up the results, we can note the following. The socialist resolution of the national issue means its removal and its exhaustion in that historical content in which it has come down to us from the exploiter society. But nations and national differences remain even under the conditions of developed socialism and, consequently, there also exists a national issue, but in a different form. This is the national issue of the period of the improvement of developed socialism and the construction of communism. Speaking at a meeting of the commission of the CPSU Central Committee for preparing a new edition of the CPSU Program, K. U. Chernenko said that it "should reveal the

nature of the national issue under the conditions of mature socialism and elucidate the future of nations, which will grow out of the objective process of internationalization of public life and out of their gradual, but steady, coming together" (Chernenko, K. U., Speech at the Meeting of the Commission of the CPSU Central Committee for Preparing the New Edition of the CPSU Program, Moscow, 1984, p 10).

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KOMSOMOL'S MISHIN OUTLINES YOUTH FESTIVAL PROGRAM

Kiev POD ZNAMENEM LENINIZMA in Russian No 9, May 85 (signed to press 26 Apr 85) pp 22-25

[Article by V. Mishin, first secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee, chairman of the Soviet Preparatory Committee of the 12th World Youth and Student Festival: "We're Waiting For You, the 12th World Festival!"]

[Text] The words expressed in the title can be heard today in various languages in all corners of our planet, because there is only a short period of time remaining until 27 July, the day when, at the Large Sports Arena of the Central Stadium imeni V. I. Lenin, a festival camomile will open up, with its brilliant petals symbolizing the five continents, hundreds of white doves will soar into the sky, and the 12th World Youth and Student Festival will be ceremoniously opened. Once again, almost three decades later, the capital of our Motherland, Moscow, will accept the festival relay baton and will become the place for a stupendous youth forum, the essence of which is meaningfully and precisely expressed in its slogan, "For anti-imperialistic solidarity, peace, and friendship!"

It is assumed that more than 15,000 foreign delegates, representing more than 2000 youth and student organizations and associations, will participate in the current festival, as well as 10,000 foreign and 12,000 Soviet tourists. This attests to the fact that the 12th World Festival will become a youth forum that has no equals with regard to its scope.

The universal interest in the forthcoming festival is also attested to by the fact that the active participants in the preparation for it -- in addition to fraternal youth leagues in the socialist countries, the Communist youth organizations of the developed capitalist countries, and the revolutionary-democratic youth associations of the liberated countries -- include many international, regional, and national youth organizations with a social-democratic, liberal, radical, and other political orientations.

The facts that have been cited convincingly reflect the tremendous self-interest that the segments of the young generation have in developing the festival movement, and their growing attempt to carry out decisive and consolidated actions to oppose the dangerous plans of the enemies of peace,

democracy, national liberation, and social progress, and to unite their efforts in the struggle for the vital rights of youth.

The preparation for the festival began slightly more than a year ago. But during that short period of time the national preparatory committees carried out in their countries a large amount of work to propagandize among the young people the noble ideals and goals of the festival movement. An inestimable role here was played by the World Federation of Democratic Youth and the International Student Union, organizations that were involved in the earliest phases of the festival movement. In most countries it is precisely those two organizations which continue to be the initiators of the extension of the pre-festival preparation.

Effective work was also carried out by the Permanent Committee of the International Preparatory Committee (MPK, [hereinafter IPC]), which was headed by Secretary-Coordinator Jean-Claude Kennedy (France). Its makeup included representatives of 34 national preparatory committees and nine international and regional organizations. The commission became an effective instrument for implementing all the decisions of the IPC.

Numerous demonstrations, meetings to show solidarity with the peoples fighting for their independence, acts of protest against the arbitrary will of imperialism, and political song concerts demonstrated the firm resolve of progressive youth to rise up as a single front in the defense of peace and progress. Under the slogan of the 12th World Festival, "For anti-imperialistic solidarity, peace, and friendship!", there has been a noticeable increase in the activity rate of the international youth movement, an increase in the number of bilateral and multilateral meetings, and, most importantly, there has been an expansion of the framework of the antiwar struggle, which has been joined by new detachments of youth. The ideas of the intensification of the struggle for peace, and of reinforcing the anti-imperialistic solidarity became the theme of the International Meeting of Young Workers that was held in Moscow in the autumn of 1984. In essence it became the prologue to the 12th World Festival.

Soviet youth is the host of the festival. Therefore the Komsomol and other youth organizations in our country have viewed, and continue to view, the preparation for it as a matter of first-priority importance.

In order to coordinate our total pre-festival work, the festival's Soviet Preparatory Committee (SPK) was created on 6 April 1984. It consisted of the secretaries of the Central Committees of the Komsomol in the union republics, the secretaries of a number of Komsomol committees, representatives of the working, rural, and student youth, the young scientific-technical and creative intellectual class, and the mass public organizations. A large amount of effort and energy was put into the activity of the Soviet Preparatory Committee by fitter-assembler at the Urals Heavy Machine Building Plant imeni S. Ordzhonikidze, Lenin Komsomol Prize winner P. Ratnikov; equipment operator at the poultry plant on the Gigant Kolkhoz, Berdichevskiy Rayon, Zhitomir Oblast, deputy to the USSR Supreme Soviet L. Gumenyuk; student at the Central Asian Pediatric Institute, N. Rashidova; USSR cosmonaut-pilot, twice Hero of

the Soviet Union S. Savitskaya; world chess champion A. Karpov; and other committee members.

In the course of the preparation for the 12th World Festival we carried out contacts with the national preparatory committees in other countries, and with international and regional youth and student organizations, and coordinated the activity of the Soviet youth and social organizations, state agencies, and ministries and departments taking part in the pre-festival work.

As is well known, the youth festival is financed by the young people themselves. There exists an International Festival Solidarity Fund, which receives monetary proceeds from young men and women around the world. A national fund for the host country is being created. This fund was established in our country in May 1984.

It was formed chiefly from funds that had been earned by young people at "subbotniks" and "voskresniks" [Saturday and Sunday donated-labor days] and voluntary deductions from the earnings of Komsomol-youth brigades, individual young workers, and members of student construction detachments. For example, at an All-Union Komsomol-Youth Subbotnik in June 1984, young men and women earned and transferred to this fund more than 40 million rubles. Student construction detachments during the past "labor semester" contributed to the festival fund more than 5 million rubles. The fund also receives voluntary contributions from the fees paid to young journalists, awards paid to inventors and efficiency-improvement experts, contributions made by social organizations, and money orders from Soviet citizens, principally young people.

While preparing actively for the festival, the Komsomol members and other young people in each republic attempt to meet it with their worthy labor achievements. Here are a few examples for the Ukraine only. Young diesel-locomotive builders in Voroshilovgrad decided to manufacture for the festival a diesel locomotive in excess of plan. A brigade of steel workers at Zaporozhstal that is headed by V. Mishevskiy pledged to smelt a thousand tons of steel in excess of plan, and the Komsomol members at the Vesna Production Association in Lvov pledged to complete the five-year plan by the day that the festival opens.

The high pledges in honor of the 12th World Festival were also taken and are being successfully fulfilled by thousands and thousands of participants in the socialist competition for the right to represent Soviet youth at the world youth forum. This honorable right will be won by those who achieve especially noticeable success in labor, training, and public work, and by those who receive the "votes" of the young men and women in our country in thousands of their letters that are being sent to the Soviet Preparatory Committee and to KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, which suggested the contest "Invitation to the Festival."

An event that became truly a review of the achievements of the Komsomol and Young Pioneer members and the rest of the young people in labor, training, scientific-technical, and artistic creativity, sports, and mass-defense work was the All-Union Soviet Youth Festival, which is being conducted in honor of

the fortieth anniversary of the Great Victory and in honor of the 12th World Youth and Student Festival. The Soviet Youth Festival was an organic continuation of the Soviet Youth Peace March that was announced by the 19th Komsomol Congress, and was a form of its effective participation in the movement of the peace-loving forces of the planet, in the campaign that was proclaimed by the VFDM [World Federation of Democratic Youth], entitled "World Actions by Youth Against the Nuclear Threat and For Peace and Disarmament."

The Moscow Festival will be held in the year of the fortieth anniversary of the Great Victory, in a country whose people, as was noted in the Appeal to World Youth that was adopted at the first session of the International Preparatory Committee, made an outstanding contribution to the defeat of Hitlerite fascism and Japanese militarism. The year 1985 was declared by the United Nations to be an International Youth Year and the 12th World Festival will definitely become its central event. Another remarkable situation is the fact that this year marks the fortieth anniversary of the United Nation and the tenth anniversary of the signing in Helsinki of the Concluding Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

All this has found its expression in the festival program that was adopted at the 4th Session of the International Preparatory Committee that was recently held in Moscow. That program provides first of all for the conducting of antiwar meetings and demonstrations, and mass acts of solidarity in the struggle being waged by nations, by young people, and students against imperialism, racism, and fascism, and for independence, freedom, democracy, self-determination, and social progress.

Every day of the festival, except for the first and final days, will be devoted to a definite problem that is troubling the young people on the planet: peace, the prevention of a nuclear war, disarmament; the rights of young people and students; security and cooperation; economic cooperation, development, new international economic order, etc.

Fifteen special-topic centers will be in operation, including those dealing with peace and disarmament, antifascist activities, anti-imperialistic solidarity, the rights of young workers, International Youth Year, and the protection of the environment. An international student center will be opened at MGU [Moscow State University] imeni M. B. Lomonosov.

In the course of round-table discussions, representatives of the youth from the five continents will have the opportunity to express their opinion on all the questions being dealt with, and to learn what the young men and women in other countries think about the situation. This exchange of opinions, without a doubt, not only will enrich each participant, but will also contribute to the consolidation of the youth in all continents in the struggle for peace, for social equality, for their rights, and, in the final analysis, for their future.

There will be so many varied activities going on at the festival in Moscow that a hundred years would probably not be enough time to visit each one of them. There will be a Day for the Struggle for Peace and Against the Arms Race, a young women's holiday, meetings with people in various occupations,



international contests by musical performers and singers, and sports competitions. During the festival days, the Central Park of Culture and Recreation imeni M. Gorkiy will become a vast performance stage. The Arts Park, with pavilions from the 15 union republics, will also be located there.

All types of the festival program are noncompetitive. That means that, for example, in the festival's peace race that will start at the Central Stadium in Luzhniki, anyone who wants to participate may do so, and this also pertains to the simultaneous chess games on 1000 chessboards with the strongest Soviet and foreign grand masters, in the international soccer and volleyball games, etc.

During the festival days, numerous artistic exhibits devoted to young Soviet and foreign authors will open in Moscow, and there will be meetings with authors, painters, and actors.

The children's program is no less full. It will include a special-topic conference devoted to "Peace and the Rights and Happiness for the Children of the Entire Planet." At the conference there will be discussions by the administrators of children's and youth organizations, dealing with problems of indoctrination, school education, and the participation of the schoolchildren in public life. An International Children's Camp will open up at the Olimp'yets youth center.

According to tradition, the next-to-last day of the festival will be the host country's day. On that day the delegates and guests of the festival will visit various enterprises, institutions, and organizations in the city, and kolkhozes and sovkhozes in the Moscow suburbs, and will be able to become acquainted in detail with the working, training, and recreational conditions for our young people.

The tourists who will visit festival Moscow will be accepted by the Sputnik International Youth Tourism Bureau. It has been decided to put the best hotels at their disposal. More than a dozen international clubs will be opened up in Moscow's palaces and houses of culture, where meetings between tourist groups and festival delegates and guests will be held and performances by amateur and professional performers will be given.

The guests in the Soviet capital will be able to take interesting excursions to the tourist attractions in the city and the Moscow suburbs, and, depending upon their circle of interests and desires, will be able to participate in the measures in the festival's political, cultural, children's, or sports programs. A conference to be held at the Tourist Center will discuss the role of youth tourism in the establishment of good, friendly relations among nations and in the development of detente and international cooperation.

Moscow and the people of Moscow are carefully preparing for the meeting with the emissaries from the youth of our planet. The capital's Komsomol organizations have organized contests of occupational skill among the young workers in trade, public nutrition, personal services, and transportation for the right to serve the guests. Specially formed student detachments will assist them.

More than 100 festival sites in the city are ready to throw their doors wide open. The festival camomile is blooming everywhere, and passersby everywhere are greeted by the cordial smile on the face of the symbolic hostess of the youth forum -- young Katyusha, wearing a "kokoshnik" [Russian peasant woman's headdress] made of five different-colored petals.

The burning interest in the Moscow forum throughout the world, and the active pre-festival preparation convince us that the 12th World Festival will become an outstanding event in the life of the young people of the planet and will brilliantly demonstrate their readiness to take aggressive actions for the sake of guaranteeing the peaceful future of mankind.

The young men and women of the Country of Soviets are anxiously awaiting the arrival in Moscow of their foreign counterparts. We say, "Welcome, Festival! Long live anti-imperialistic solidarity, peace, and friendship!"

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# USSR FILM DEPICTS SOVIET SOCIETY NEGATIVELY

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[Review of film "Chuchelo" by Nadezhda Zheleznova: "The Voice of Our Anxiety", under the rubrics "Literature in the World of Art" and Rolan Bykov and His Film 'Chuchelo']

[Text] A STALL IN THE AUDITORIUM. "Chuchelo", a film by the producer Rolan Bykov, is being shown on the country's movie theater screens. Today, a number of cinematographers, critics and viewers of different age groups are reflecting on it, writing about it and arguing about it. The activity of that "two-way relation"--which merges the acute problems of life of contemporary society and the task of art in Rolan Bykov's new work--has also become the primary topic of critic Nadezhda Zheleznova's polemical comments, which have been published under the rubric "A Stall in the Auditorium".

Several teen-age boys have chased a young girl to the square of an ancient small town. By all appearances she is the same age as they. Having caught up to her and knocked her down, they begin to beat her, each in a different way: using hands, feet, frenziedly, exasperatedly and "for no particular reason", and even halfheartedly...She lies on the ground, merely covering her head with her hands, not even dodging the blows. And this is watched by the white-bricked chambers of the ancient city, where every brick is part of the foundation of a many-centuried history. And it is watched by the excursion guides, who are enthusiastically telling the tourists about "the architectural treasure-house" in which they have found themselves, about the glorious battles of the city's troops with the Tatar hordes, of the heroism of the local inhabitants during the Napoleonic invasion and about how the Revolution came to the city on the wings of fierce battles.

A tall old man in a shabby coat cries out, "Children! What are you doing? Children...." He rushes to help, and looking in the girl's eyes, sees a sorrow older than her years.

"They chased me around the town. In sight of everybody...." Then Lena Bessol'tseva recounts the entire affair to her grandfather. "Have you ever

been chased...like a rabbit?" And Nikolay Nikolayevich Bessol'tsev, veteran of the Great Patriotic War and retired officer, who fearlessly trod the path of war and the nine circles of the Hell of fascist concentration camps, feels fear and despair: children...childhood...and such cruelty.

That's the sound--in the briefest possible retelling--not of an excerpt from a legal essay, but a fragment from Vladimir Zheleznikov's story "Chuchelo" and producer Rolan Bykov's picture, which is an adaptation of the story.

The premiere of the film "Chuchelo", in Moscow and a number of other cities around the country, took place at the end of September 1984. And after a month, a survey group was invited to meet with a million of the film's viewers. It would be no exaggeration if we say that Rolan Bykov's new film is one of the most significant cultural events of the last few years. But as everyone knows, cinematography is a collective art. And when you see this film you will recall, more than once, Vasiliy Makarovich Shukshin's opinion: "Without literature, there is no cinema." In the sense that the film "Chuchelo" incorporates both a fortuitous union of literary good luck (V. Zheleznikov's story has been distinguished by three awards in the children's literature department, one of them the international prize which bears the name of Yanush Korchak, and which was awarded for the humanism of the book's concepts) and, if it can be thus expressed, a lucky period in the life of the genre: this motion picture, which addresses the problems of youth, gains in tempo and force with each year.

And it comes as no surprise that this very same Rolan Antonovich Bykov had to be attracted to the subject of Zheleznikov's book and the scenario which subsequently grew out of the story: it should suffice us to recall the stages of Bykov's creative destiny. He was an actor in the Moscow Young People's Theater, a film actor, and then a producer.

It was Rolan Bykov who, twenty five years ago, played the happy Akaky Akakievich in Aleksey Batalov's film version of "The Overcoat", giving his version of the destiny of man, acutely sensitive to good and evil, joy and suffering. His is the talent which resists evil with good, as was revealed so excellently in the film "Aybolit-66", where he assumed the aspect of the weak and malicious Barmaley, and the dear Doctor from our childhood stories confirmed the victory of decency over cynicism, and showed that civic courage triumphs... over cruelty. This talent shows through when Bykov uses the orchestra member Pavel Kolpakov in his film "They're Calling You...Open the Door!", and the character lives in the memory, not simply as an intelligent person, but as a Personality, noble and true to childhood.

There are too many of Rolan Bykov's roles and works to enumerate, but there is one which is impossible to forget, and it has the most direct relation to the subject of this piece. I'm talking about the character Ivan Karyakin, the Tula fitter and knight of world revolution from the film "Two Comrades Served". With rare psychological demonstrability, R. Bykov created a portrait of a man with the soul of a child, who learns to think right before our eyes. The critic Inna Levshina, author of the book "Rolan Bykov" characterized this image as "The high price of the victory of Good".

The world of childhood has a constant attraction for R. Bykov the actor and producer. We know him as the producer of the films "The Seven Nannies" (1962), "Childhood Vanished" (1963), and "Aybolit-66", "Take Care, Turtle!" and "Telegram", all released in 1970. By the way, for his work on the film "Take Care, Turtle!", Rolan Antonovich Bykov was awarded the "Excellent Worker in National Education" honorary insignia. And indeed, the film accomplished its educative mission.

If the reader recalls, the conflict in this film was reduced to the following: a pair of young boys decide to place a turtle in the path of a tank for the purpose of checking--to settle an argument!--the strength of its shell. But their entire school class unanimously stood against them. How amicably was the unfortunate turtle's life saved. How touchingly one of the film's young heroines poured her just-purchased milk on the innocent victim of the experiment. And how rapturously, and with what stirring girlish, even womanly feeling did the girls watch a wedding party get into full swing in the neighboring courtyard.

As is known, decorations for excellence should be reaffirmed. So, after 13 years, we have "Chuchelo". What exactly happened during the years which separated "Telegram", which was imbued with goodness and a New Year's Eve smile and "Take Care, Turtle", which was so synonymously and decisively affirmative of the victory of humaneness over obviously unrecognized childish cruelty, and his new film, in which the barely adolescent heroes of Bykov's previous films betray the concept of goodness and pervert the very idea of justice?

At first glance, it is precisely this interest in the complex, ever-changing interrelations among juveniles who are barely groping for a place on the scale of personal worth, which determined Rolan Bykov's decision to make this film. Because the land of the children in his picture is a projection of the adults' existence. It was not simply the "bewildering situations of life, with their disturbing truth" which lured the producer. He has created, not a "chronicle of the surrender-inducing cruelty of which children are capable" (as the newspaper Yumanite's Moscow correspondent Zherar Streff responded to the film), but a warning on film, a film analysis of the changes in today's world and in us ourselves. The categories, which would not yield to a screen treatment are precisely the atmosphere of the 20th century's 80's, the new internal filling of those who have known each other since childhood with the concepts of good and evil, of nobility and meanness, of selflessness and cowardice, and of the capability for great deeds and spirituality. In this film, they have become characters in their own right.

"A warning on film?" Rolan Bykov keeps asking me. "I hear this definition with increasing frequency from the critics, and in general I agree with them. Although he has perceived the specific task of film to be to analyze today's social and psychological situation. Do you recall that Belinskiy said 'Children are essentially the guest of the present and masters of the future.'? All of us have an interest in our children growing into zealous masters of the Earth and reliable masters of the future. And hence the cautionary intonation of our film."

These days, when all life on earth is in danger, when a single nuclear maniac can push The Button and the phenomenon of childhood would simply disappear, it is precisely today when the concept of the responsibility of the individual for the mass is changing: when the state of society depends, if you will, on the behaviour and the spiritual state of each single person. In just the first few weeks since the picture was released on screens all across the Union, Rolan Bykov has received a massive amount of mail from many of the country's cities. This mountain of viewer opinion is stacked up before me, just like the dozens of lined sheets with their school compositions (in a number of schools, the children themselves asked for an opportunity to discuss the film frankly, alone with themselves and a clean sheet of paper).

It should be mentioned that the film does not evoke simultaneous, across-the-board reactions or complete acceptance. Viewers' opinions all vary widely, from exultant and thankful ("Thank you for the love and care which you have for our children..."); ("Saw 'Chuchelo' yesterday. A deep bow to you, fellow countryman!") to opinions which are angered, disturbed, and which furiously negate the verisimilitude of the problems and the very possibility of the situation itself ("Rolan Bykov accomplishes his task exclusively in dismal hues, distorting our grade-school reality...", and "...I beg you to rid our screens of this harmful film immediately...".)

So--as everyone knows, pseudosignificant works never arouse any dispute.

"Chuchelo" recounts the drama of a 13-year-old girl enmeshed in her schoolyard life.

"The new girl," the unattractive young girl Lena, has been placed in the 6th grade. She is greeted with mockery and is instantly tagged with a malicious nickname: "Chuchelo", which means "scarecrow" ("mouth from ear to ear, sewn-on stringy hair...").

The girl is aware of the special laws of the world of childhood, and is ready for this greeting. At first, she only smiles peacefully and contradicts no one for any reason. Moreover, the girl betrays her lonely old grandfather, with whom she has come to live, from the very beginning. As a consequence, she will torment herself for this. Only one of the children in the class, Dimka Somov, reaches out to her with the hand of support. And this he does resolutely, and I would even say manfully. Handsome, strong and fair, he is sure of himself. And his friends acknowledge this. The girl's gratitude in this situation is natural. And natural is the emergence within Lenchka of the first feeling of nascent, selfless love. But don't think that what you have before you is a repetition of familiar plots on the theme "But is this love?". No, "Chuchelo" is not a story of the mutual relations of two teen-agers who have no understanding of their surroundings. It is a film about baseness, betrayal and cowardice. It is a film about human love, of the capability of taking action, and of unselfishness and courage. It is indeed a film about human love as opposed to children's love, since in its best scenes, producer Bykov's new work is elevated to the heights of tragedy and general philosophical conclusions.

The intention of the film turned out to be capable of growth, developing like an independent work of art. The theme of the film became the disturbing "burning questions" which trouble the hearts of quite a wide variety of people, and about which MEI [Moscow Order of Lenin Institute of Power Engineering] Docent V. Yu. Konchalovskiy and Oksana K., a student; A. G. Bugrov, a teacher at Balashikha, near Moscow, and many others, have written.

"Children are the same as people, only smaller", said Rolan Bykov, in one of his talks. "Their world is our world. The age-old laws of human society operate in the child, only they have been perhaps more purified of the things which are of minor importance, and the connection between cause and effect is more attenuated and less clear."

And really: how often we hear, "The happy, unrepeatable time of childhood!". How often we ourselves repeat these words. But do we take care in considering the sense of these words, to the root? Are we capable of an honest recollection? Indeed, if the singular nostalgia for childhood and the years when we "talked beautiful nonsense" is discarded, then it comes to light that the conflicts of that world were more dramatic, and the discovery of unknown truths was sharper and more painful. And our first defeats had such a stronger impact on us than later, as grown-ups, when the reverses and imperfections are incomparably more concrete (oh, for example, a disastrous dissertation reading, a breakup with someone close, a quagmire of petty quotidian troubles...). In this sense, the story which Bykov and Zheleznikov are telling us is in no sense new. Have we not had occasion to witness, on the stage or screen, the tragedy of the conflicts of someone's cruelty with goodness, or had occasion to read how the selfishness and malice of some people trample on the human character which is different from others, and unusual?

But in fact, this very theme is inexhaustible for modern art. And that is why the creators of the film "Chuchelo" are telling a totally new story about exactly what happened in the "A" class, sixth grade, after the entire class had run away to the movie theater, and away from the literature lesson.

Thus, the leader of the class (this role was played with tact and intelligence by Yelena Sanayeva), who is much more occupied with her personal destiny than with that of "her children", by chance asks Dimka Somov about the whereabouts of the vanished class. The code of the "strong man" prohibits him from lying, and the teacher's outraged pride prohibits her from forgiving a general violation of discipline. For the time being, everything is proper. But as punishment, the entire class is deprived of a much-desired trip to Moscow for the autumn holidays. The search for the "betrayer" begins. The feelings of the sixth-graders are running so high that Lena, wanting to save Dimka, takes the blame upon herself. She is terrified of seeing the boy losing his head and becoming frightened of them. And she is totally unafraid to cry out "Be still!" to her storming classmates, then: "I did it! I!"

Lena is shunned. But this measure is only the first step on the long path of persecutions and humiliations of the girl. And Dimka? Events on the screen develop ever more acutely, quicker and fiercely. And it turns out that he

is not a hero at all, and not brave, but a coward. But his is no commonplace, primitive cowardice, but is akin to treachery and treason. Somov does not fear being hit (he got involved in a scuffle with the flayer Val'ka, saving some homeless dogs), nor is he afraid of physical violence. He fears the opinions of the majority, spiritually (or, more precisely, spiritlessly) dependent on the esteem and judgement of others. He cannot bear to lose his position as a leader, or to find himself in isolation. His delicate hide is accustomed to the comforting atmosphere of universal respect and love. Outside of this, he is like an air bubble pricked by a pin....And that is why, saving what's left of his influence and fighting for leadership of the class, Dimka Somov betrays Lena, her faith, her friendship and her child's love....

Stop the film's creators at just this situation in their story, and their work would still upset a lot of people (I had occasion to read dozens of letters to Rolan Bykov on the subject of the "reality" and the "urgency" of the problems shown in the film). But this film's main worth is not in the authors' refraining from pillorying the "bad" children, or their confirming the noble spirituality of the heroine, but in that they explain humans to humans.

We can say that here, in this explanation, lies the real responsibility of literature and art, which have, these days, discovered the role of delicate tuning fork to society's consciousness. It may be recalled that our very own domestic cinema has, for the last decade, achieved major successes in an artistic investigation along the entire front of our spiritual life, and here we can name the films of N. Mikhalkov and A. Manasarova, "Patsanov" by Dinara Asanova, Sergey Solov'yev's film trilogy and the excellent work done by Aleksandr Mindadze and Vadim Abdrashitov, "The Train Has Stopped", and many other important pictures. Bykov's film is included in this series of film works. In this connection, there is a distinct feeling that in the film "Chuchelo", the motion picture is becoming a challenging phenomenon which is implementing a break-through into the territory of sociology, publicist activity and the most important societal and even philosophical problems of our time.

And so it would seem that the creators of "Chuchelo" are least of all interested in sociological information. All the same, the girls and boys who will be coming to class on the first of September will be carrying--each, in his words and actions--the most unexpected knowledge of how decisively the world, as well as the concept of good and evil in it, are all changing; knowledge of the "mobility" and changeability of each conflict situation in the juvenile environment; and of what leadership is, and why the pursuit of it is dangerous; and how the child's scale of worth, both real and imaginary, is graduated; and how consumer trumpery of all sorts and stripes affects the spirits of our youth....

Let us, however, return to the plot of our film.

The holidays are in progress. Most of the children have nothing to do. But the "strong" boys and the well-dressed girls want to have a good time at any price. If only to amuse themselves, to "demand" jokes, experiences, malicious nicknames, precisely whose dramas....Everyone, as they say, is "up for grabs". And so, under the leadership of the sweet, little blue-eyed fanatic Mironova



(in class they call her "The Iron Push-Button"), under the slogan "Defense of Justice and the Struggle Against Treachery", the school children get involved in offences against the very notion of humaneness. In order to punish the "traitor" Lena Bessol'tseva, they make use of the most refined means of cruelty. Down to the fire...

...which is flaming up inside some ruins, either an ancient castle, or an old abandoned church. They are burning a scarecrow in the fire. The scarecrow from "Chuchelo/Scarecrow", if we may express it that way: a scarecrow, made of a stick, a hole-riddled bucket (in place of a head!) and a poor old dress belonging to Lenochka Bessol'tseva.

And while this frightful fire is burning, in the flames of which are perishing the human conscience of Dimka Somov, and someone's goodness, and someone's courage, then we gaze into the faces of the children, who are shouting, whistling and chanting.

Rolan Bykov says that an "insane" example of the symphonic effect [simfo-effekt] was used: this means that if there are 12 people in a filmed scene and these 12 people are all talking at the same time, then the sound has to be "written" so that the words of each are heard distinctly, and all the actors are able to declare their individuality through their behaviour, evaluations, and opinions. And for the effect of the semantic and emotional polyphony to turn into the desired result, and this does not happen when the characters are declaiming at the same pitch, or level, but when they extend themselves. The proximity of the producer to the prose of Vl. Zheleznikov is obvious here: the human polyphony is always audible in Zheleznikov's stories and tales. He knows how to transmit the vital, purely individual intonations of his heroes, which give expression to the features peculiar to the characters.

And Rolan Bykov has also succeeded in creating a new work of art by virtue of the fact that he has enriched the qualities of the prose with the experience of the time, and his most vital concerns, about which he spoke so honestly and with such a heavy heart.

Here is the well-fed, lower middle-class Shmakova skipping under the ancient Spidola: "And we are the normal ones! What are we going to buy in Moscow?" The great hulking girl, a physical culture buff whose nickname is "Shaggy" exclaims, "The main thing is strength!" The "flayer" Val'ka is calculating wages for some others for capturing homeless dogs ("a ruble apiece")...The eyes of The Iron Push-Button glow with a non-childlike cruelty: "Finish it up, Dimka!", as she forces Somov himself to light the fire at the very top of the hill. The very words are so terrible: "Finish it up!".

Who are they, exactly? "Juveniles, in the emotional and psychological sense," as Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko called the disturbing problem of the spiritual "insensitivity" of a certain segment of our youth, after he, from the rostrum of the anniversary plenum, called upon the governing board of the USSR Writers' Union, to "strengthen the influence of literature and art on personality formation" and to allocate "to the education in the cultivation of feelings...no less attention than that paid to the study of the rudiments of the sciences."

This is precisely what Rolan Bykov's film is about. And his primary interest is the fact that authors are trying, with as much attention as possible, to get a good look at the accelerating factors which have given rise to this radically new lifestyle. Lev Anninskiy, analyzing Sergey Solov'yev's film trilogy in particular, mentioned "the impoverishment of traditional culture" in today's young generations. Rolan Bykov took this further, and said, more pointedly, when he reminded us of education, the excellent results, and the "several superfluous grades of five" during the quarter, about which the young teacher cares so much, and who is also torn between her responsibility (the end of the quarter, and they need "worthy indicators"), and her feeling (her fiancé is in Moscow, and the clink of wedding party goblets is heard),--all of this is as nothing compared to the lack of education of the spirit. In fact, we are not following the film's heroes and authors into any such nasty, vicious group. No, the camera leads us into the streets of the beautiful old city where these children were born, heirs of the spiritual wealth of their native land, and brings us into the normal class where these normal thirteen-year old girls and boys study (and do quite well at it, by the way). And this is especially troubling to the viewers' spirits....Because, judging by everything, the school itself is disquieting, too, with its "proper" traditions: on the 1st of September the suntanned children in their freshly-pressed clothing hurry here, and by the door stands the head mistress, looking traditionally intelligent with her "a la Knipper" coiffure, her blouse of the type worn at the turn of the century by graduating girl students of Bestusheff's courses, the frozen smile and the same "Good morning. Hello", spoken in the same intonation to everyone. And past her walk the children, unwarmed by her smile, and so different from each other.

Glance into their eyes, peer into their spirits, demands the producer. You will see, besides the homework they have mastered, boredom and emptiness in some of them, an insatiable thirst for new things and new amusements in others, and a striving for friendship and an openness to the world in still others.

However, there is yet another category of children--those in this film. And special mention must be made of them. These are the indifferent ones.

"Remember," Bykov suggested to me. "How many people are "chasing" Lena Bes-sol'tseva through the town? Ten? Twelve? But one could count them on his fingers. But there are thirty-five in the class, and then forty. Just where are the rest? What reveals their position to us? The indifferent silence with which they greet the girl's shunning and persecution, and the bonfire. Only one boy--Vasil'yev--steps forth in Lena's defense. It is precisely in the portion of the class which is devoid of any specific portrait-like detail, the indifferent portion of the class, that Rolan Bykov sees the main danger to society, and he correctly reminds us that indifference is a vice which is closely related to the betrayal of our ideals, both civil and moral.

It is no accident that the movie camera--operated by Anatoliy Mukasey--moves so often--after the most violent and explosive episodes of on-screen action--to the town's quiet, comfortable by-streets, and moves along the dependable, tightly-closed fences.

What sort of life goes on behind those fences? How does one knock until heard by the people who live in those houses and how does one reach the hearts of their children--through the noise of the discotheques, the speeding motor-cycles, the tape-recorded rhythms? The houses are silent. The fences are stout.

But we need to knock until we are heard. And Rolan Bykov's film is also about this.

"Yesterday I saw the film "Chuchelo". It disturbed me quite a bit. Where do children learn such cruelty?! Where are the teachers, and where is the class leader--their second mama? And finally, where are the parents? Well then, let the three parents who behave improperly leave the class: Val'ka's grandmother ("don't spoil the produce for no reason--go visit someone"), the mother of the Iron Push-Button and the unhealthy family of the barber, but even these aren't all. There are parents with whom their children share their lives. Where are they? Why weren't they included in this conflict, to relieve some of the tension from the atmosphere?

...It was a very distressing film.

With respect to you, (signed) Anna Grigor'yevna Bugrova, a retired teacher."

And there are letters like this one (and quite a few of them) in Rolan Bykov's mail for today. It appears that a debate among the reader-viewers has developed around the film--the most serious argument being in favor of the true success of the producer and his colleagues on the film.

The concept of the changing character of the complex dependence on each other, which binds the different generations living on the earth together, disturbs people.

Consequently, Bykov reminds us that all of the children, the fathers and the grandfathers are indeed connected by the shared path of our native history, along which path travels generation after generation. And the experience gained by one generation should certainly be passed on to the next, as our dependence on our common history is immutable and is great. We note, however, that Rolan Bykov certainly didn't bring many detailed portraits of older people into his film. Only the outlines of the fates of the parents, of the echoes of the loves which never were, and the heat dispersed in the family as hearth.

This is the producer's position. In this film the parents are present as problems, not as characters. Here is the selfish grandmother, and Dimka Somov's "weakling", who considers her time spent in the kitchen to be her highest pedagogical principle, while the "little ones" revel noisily along behind her and the feast table which has been prepared; here's the grandmother of Val'ka "the flayer": her passion for money is the envy of Kabanikha and Plyushkin; here is the "silhouette" of Shmakova's mother, the spirit-corroding apotheosis of acquisitiveness. That is why, when the teenagers run around the

town in an irrepressible flock, their parents' problems "run" right along after them. The film's creators never take their cinematic "eye" off the central concept of the film. Not for a minute. And this concept is embodied in the fact that goodness genes and inhumanity genes do not exist, just as there are no children who are one hundred percent good or evil. Love, the hunger to do good, and the capability of selflessness--all these must grow, as says the producer. And culture is also a gardener of these notions. Not the totality of our knowledge, nor an outstanding attendance record, but the cultivation of the spirit and the cultivation of feelings and attitudes. It can be asked again and again, "from which direction does one approach these children?". But if one is to be honest and strict with oneself, and the film demands this of us, then we have to acknowledge that these children are a derivative of their parents, who are wrapped up in their material comforts, but not in spiritual warmth.

But let us return once again to the question of fathers and their children, or rather, to the problem of grandchildren and grandfathers. Rolan Antonovich Bykov once shared this observation: a person looks at a photograph of himself and says that no, it is certainly not him. Then, seeing a sketch, a caricature, a cartoon of himself, he agrees that there's a good resemblance!

In his new film, Bykov has by no means striven to create a caricature, but a realistic portrait of today's teenagers. And the fine honing of the features in the individual portraits was simply necessary in order to create true-to-life characteristics. Rolan Bykov has achieved a vivid revelation of feelings, and pointed emotional saturation in every scene.

For example, how is one to understand the character and attitude of Lena, the "Scarecrow", if one accounts for her behaviour by attributing a "healthy imagination" to her? "Why didn't you say that Dimka was the traitor?" the children ask, crazy in their uncomprehension. But she, keeping the bitter truth to herself, accepts the torment, so terrible to her child's soul: the shunning, the fire.

But really: why?

In the literary portrait, Lena is described this way: "She was an ungainly teenager, still a calf on her long legs, with the same kind of long, incongruous arms. Her shoulder blades protruded from her back like little wings. Her mobile features were adorned with a large mouth which was almost always smiling benevolently. And it is precisely like an "ungainly calf" that the 13-year-old Kristina Orbakayte brings the young heroine into the door of the sixth, "A", class for the first time. And this lets (us, the amazed viewers) see, with un-childlike penetration to the essence of the plot, how her "Scarecrow" develops, how she acquires wisdom, learns to be a personality, to be "goodness, but with fists".... In the film's finale, as we peer into the soul of this great little person, one thinks about a lot of things. Including about the fact, specifically, that this Lena Bessol'tseva is your hope, and ours.

In the picture's dramatic code, the performer makes use of quite a large array of means of self-expression--from a state of despair, when the bonfire is blazing up, to self-irony, and the grotesque. One of her appearances, on Dimka's birthday, is priceless. She comes into the well-appointed home, an uninvited guest, in the half-charred dress taken from the bonfire, with an old woman's gray shawl covering her closely cropped head ("Scarecrow"? Here, take this...".) But how confident are her eyes and gestures, and what force her words have. And how devoid of any trace of malice is her voice, pitying these Shmakovs and Somovs, who have lost their most precious attributes: their conscience and their mercy. During these moments there is an un-childlike depth and a new knowledge of truth, which had been unknown for so long, which become apparent to the heroine Orbakayte.

There is a great deal of value in the fact that the scenic action has been organized as if in two stylistic flows: the conversations with her grandfather in the old house, against a background of scenes illuminated by a homey warmth take us back every time to the sources of little Lena's ideal, "impractical" faith in goodness and the good people among which she grew up. And the element of action itself, fierce and cruel, convince us that a faith such as this must be strong enough to reveal the resolve, will, and fearlessness of the gentle, dreamy girl. That elevated spiritual beauty is what makes her and her great-grandmother "Mashka" from the ancient portrait, as alike as two drops of water.

However, their main resemblance is not in the shapes of the amazing, slightly swollen lips or the icon-painting shape of the eyes (simply the Paraskeva Friday icon from some northern village, done by a rural icon dauber!). The resemblance is deep and is found in her inner culture, that special uncommon fusion of nobility and selflessness, and the poor defenses against the worldly, which have always characterized the genuinely intellectual.

Yuriy Nikulin also performed the role of Nikolay Nikolayevich Bessol'tsev with reliable invariability in this film.

"...Even we ourselves did not notice how vitally important had become the need to understand today that our time on the earth is apportioned," Rolan Bykov told me. "Not only to draw nearer to the philosophy of this age, but to maintain a connection with the times: in a word, to see ourselves as continuers and trailblazers. Like Bessol'tsev, the former front-line soldier. Little Lena's somewhat eccentric grandfather. The collector of pictures. After whom the philistines mutter "the millionaire". And indeed Bessol'tsev does collect pictures which were painted by his ancestors, the seven Bessol'tsev masters, who are still serfs, only they are the ones who are helping to restore, link by link, the history of the intellectuals of spirit and deed. And he is both a follower and a trailblazer."

These remarks are not being set down to serve as a review of the performances of the actors involved in "Chuchelo". But Yuriy Nikulin is a special case: a veteran of the Great Patriotic War, he travelled all its roads, from the sorrow of 1941 to the triumph of 1945, and in Rolan Bykov's film he integrates his own biography and the experience of his generation into his performance.

The image of Nikolay Nikolayevich in the film is also a link in the connections of time.

...A retired officer, and now a pensioner, he arrived in the city which he had not seen in over 30 years. He rebuilt the Bessol'tsev home, work on which had come to a standstill in the absence of people, and where his great-great-grandfather--an artist--had once lived, and where Doctor Bessol'tsev (his father) had died at the hands of the fascists, he who had saved the lives of Soviet wounded in the cellar of the "ancestral nest". The son, with his hoary head and the wounds which often reminded the old soldier of the past war, returned home "so that the delicate thread which was his connection to the past, that is, to eternity, might not be severed...".

But the gaze of Lena's grandfather is not fixed only on the past. From the story "Chuchelo": "He thought about the fact that when he died, his son would settle here with his family". It is apparently important to emphasize this point, since none of the elder Bessol'tsev's past history is given in the film. His past history, just like his biography, and like destiny--his and that of his Home--had to be played by Yuriy Nikulin in a fairly limited amount of time on screen. It had to be played in such a way as to answer the question: who is he, exactly, the elder Bessol'tsev? "A crazy old townsman"? "A patcher" [zaplatochnik], as his little granddaughter Lena repeats at first, following the thoughtless mockers. Or "crank", a strange person, one of those so beloved of Shukshin?... Following these situations, which are sometimes sad and sometimes touching, there arises both loneliness and a great thirst for spirituality and for the ability to rise above a humdrum existence.

But the old man collects more than just pictures: he collects relatives. In the highest and purest sense of the word. Our entire history lives in the tidy, wood and chintz space of the Bessol'tsev home. These young maids in the portraits, the mustached officers fearlessly questioning the future, the kindly old women and the dignified old men, and even the handsome General Rayevskiy--all of them were the "generations" of the Bessol'tsev family: doctors and literature teachers of the district, sisters of charity and defenders of the Fatherland.

The idea that art is not simply the custodian and connoisseur of human experience, but is our paternal home, is very important, in my view, in the gifted work of Rolan Bykov. Art...is also our own native country. Without the past, no future can be built. We must not forget our origins or our cultural roots or give up the vital future countenance of our Motherland--our children--to consumption and Philistinism. This is what the film confirms.

Those who work constantly with Rolan Bykov admit that he is an extremely musical person. So, too, in this film, many of the themes associated with music are "supported" by it. In musical terminology, the theme of Grandfather Bessol'tsev can be defined as a hymn to courage, as an ode to the spiritual strength and steadfastness, not only of Nikolay Nikolayevich, but of all those who bore the burden of the war on their shoulders, and who bear the burden of today's cold war with the petty bourgeoisie, with futile malice and with indifference, the war for the young people's souls and hearts, and from which war they are emerging as victors.

As victors? But in fact the old man and Lena have to leave the city, having tightly boarded up the old "ancestral nest".

That's the way things are. A half-empty little ship pulls away from the city pier. We see Lena's eyes, bitter and full of renunciation, and the grandfather's troubled melancholy. But...here the musical theme of the finale arises: the small members of the Suvorov military college band are playing a farewell waltz. And the director (it was not by chance that this role was played by Rolan Bykov, again searching for the harmony of peace in music, in an attempt to arouse good in people) takes off his service cap as a sign of parting. He, too, has had his hair cropped, just like his young heroine, who burned her hair on the bonfire of someone else's malice, but who has retained the nobility of her goodness. After him, the young band members also take off their service caps: here are the same downy "crew cut" and pure, understanding eyes. "The reliable little orchestra", which is always playing in people's hearts. The future is for these children, the director is telling us. And in parting, the camera pans along the banks of the beautiful Russian river and up along the hills upon which the ancient city has stood for eight centuries. There is still one valuable sign in producer Bykov's system of symbols before the viewer: behind the concreteness of his realia, there is the activity of his civil position. The social basis of perception, life and the creative objective, are always distinct.

In the film's final scene, the metaphor, in my view, is publicistically interpreted quite precisely: here we have the beauty of the earth, of its art, of its living and heroic history and of its people--a great legacy. And it must be given over to the keeping of reliable and zealous masters.

The producer's clear and optimistic talent has resulted in this intonation for the picture: here is where his certitude in the strengths of youthful spirits is announced, and in the fact that our girls and boys are capable of rescuing and defending this disturbing and cruel but all the same beautiful world....

"I do not divide art into art for children and art for adults," wrote R. Bykov a few years ago. "I divide it into gifted and mediocre, and into necessary and unnecessary. I have no "grown-up" or "children's" policy. I have a policy of convictions. I am in love with life, and I believe in it. That's why there are children. And children grow up. That means I believe in the future."

And that is what "Chuchelo", Rolan Bykov's new film, is all about.

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## CHAKOVSKY'S NEW BOOK PORTRAYS ROOSEVELT

Moscow NOVYY MIR in Russian No 4, Apr 85 (signed to press 24 Jan 85) pp 245-250

[Review by Aleksandra Spal of book "Neokonchennyy portret. Roman [Unfinished Portrait. A Novel] by Aleksandr Chakovskiy, ZNAMYA, 1983, No 9; 1984, Nos 7, 8: "April 1945 and the Future"]

[Text] Political biography? A historical-documentary fictional essay of the type of [the series] Zhizn' Zamechatel'nykh Liudey [The Life of Remarkable People]? No. The author himself defined the genre as a novel. But it seems to me that we are not dealing with a novel in the literal sense of the word. Let us say conditionally--a narration.

The artistic reconstruction of several of the last days in the life of the president of the United States, Franklin Delano Roosevelt is keenly purposeful. The story method is based on an internal monologue, which by its very nature artistically (and not in a documentary fashion) recreates the thought and emotional process of the hero--a man known throughout the world. This method gives the author a point of departure into basic program points of a conception, for the sake of which, generally speaking, he undertook this work.

With respect to the plot, everything is reduced to two or three basic ideas, which the hero develops in detail, seeking the confirmation of the correctness of his former actions and support for those actions which, as the reader understands, will already not follow.

These thoughts are about the situation which developed in the relations of the allies toward the end of the war. About the Japanese question, which greatly worried the American president. Reflections on "the house of good neighbors", i. e., on the difficulties of the creation of the United Nations Organization. And also about how Stalin will conduct himself in the future. . . So far as the personal attitude of Roosevelt to the Soviet Union is basically shown in the novel, we sense how sympathy, as well as simply interest in the USSR and the desire to understand this, to him unfamiliar, world shows through all of his fears and distrustfulness characteristic of his cautious policy. At one time, at the very beginning of his political career, when he was assistant secretary of the navy, Roosevelt, knowing practically nothing about Russia, nevertheless permitted himself rather coarse statements about it. Now, towards the end of the war, the president's view of Russia became much more serious,



as if he felt the nature of this state, which was far from intelligible to him in everything, but which had its own strong foundations, and, above all, he had confidence in the foreign policy tactic of the Soviet country.

However, understanding that the political conduct of the United States and England with respect to the alliance power was far from unimpeachable, Roosevelt seriously fears that thereby the USSR receives the moral right to refuse to fulfill the obligations it had assumed, in particular in the question of Japan.

The story of the composition, by Roosevelt, of a letter to Stalin runs through the entire novel, providing the thread for excursions into history and is accompanied by the romantic line of the personal life of the hero. And although the factual accuracy is observed to the necessary degree, there are almost no dates and almost no citations of documents in the book. Hopes and pains, thoughts and aspirations. . . The element of the novel is indisputable here.

In this sense, it is interesting to compare the "Unfinished Portrait" with N. N. Yakovlev's book "Franklin Ruzvel't: chelovek i politik. Novoye prochneniye" [Franklin Roosevelt: Man and Politician. A New Reading], published in 1981 by the Mezhdunarodnyye otnosheniia Publishing House. The detailed political biography, which contains the latest information, provides an idea of how selective Aleksandr Chakovskiy was in the choice of his material in this case for his work, rejecting many effective facts and pieces of information for the sake of the integrity of what he had conceived.

Half of the book altogether is carried out behind brackets, it is supplemented by the imagination of the reader. This interesting effect is created by the fact that the narration breaks off on 12 April 1945, the day of FDR's death, and everything that happened in the world after the war is for the hero the future which has not begun, and it is not present in the book by so much as a word and nevertheless in its reality it constantly exists!

The author wrote the book as though it was composed in April 1945, but the reader--he opens it in 1984! He confronts, compares and thinks, that is he works actively with the author.

"Unfinished Portrait" is a bitter book, addressed from the past to the future. A constant double line runs before us: A clear one--the thoughts, hopes and fears of the hero, and the unwritten one--the 40 postwar years, which confirm the most melancholy proposals of the American president. This artistic method, which creates a tense dramatic composition of politics in development, substantially enlarges the apparent limits of the narration. It is this which gives the book dimension [ob"em] and vitality.

Chakovskiy's Roosevelt does not think about his imminent death, but nevertheless, submitting to the author's intention, sums up his whole activity, as it were, and fears that he will not have sufficient time for the realization of what he has conceived. He does not have confidence in those who will continue his work, who will occupy the presidential chair, and this troubles and depresses him, for he, as a true politician, a politician to the marrow, cannot but foresee the possibility of the further development of events. He thinks:

"Now Hitler is practically crushed. But, you see, already one of the ancients came to the conclusion that the experience of the preceding generation never taught anything to the next one. . . And, you see, the next generation--and perhaps already the present one!--will have in its possession a new deadly weapon, the atomic bomb."

Experience is not transmitted--this bitter thought beats in the book with an uneasy pulse.

And the reader becomes aware of this bitter taste. Yes, we know, now we know--fascism has survived. And the thing is not only the fascist remnants scattering throughout the world (not without the participation of the same United States). Experience is not transmitted. There are always people who can convince themselves and feel their superiority only by one method--having armed themselves and having secured firearms for themselves. When you read Chakovskiy's novel, you recall more than once how often the gleaming television personnel--the smiling American fellows, who wear the military uniform with too much relish and play with evident pleasure with their tommy gun. They are not ashamed to be hirelings--they speak openly about this.

Thus during the reading of "Unfinished Portrait" material for comparison constantly appears.

Here, for example, is a fragment of the book devoted to the meeting of Roosevelt with the Philippine president Sergio Osmena. Roosevelt convenes a press conference, at which nobody, besides himself, wants to talk about Philippine affairs. Roosevelt did not succeed in implementing his intention of at last granting full independence to the Philippines, which was promised already in 1934, although it is difficult to doubt the sincerity of his intentions. Now we know what sort of "independence" was given to the Philippines in 1946: All armed forces of the Philippines came under the command of American "instructors", and the United States Army received 22 (!) strips of land for the installation of military bases. Now it is impossible to verify whether Roosevelt was thinking about such independence for the Philippines, as it is impossible to imagine whether the world would be like this if Roosevelt had lived to the end of his fourth presidential term.

As is well known, FDR was satisfied with the results of the Yalta Conference, although in connection with the question of what Germany would be like after the war it seemed to him that there will not be a division of Germany in the spirit of the results of the Thirty Year War, i.e, the breaking up of the country into microscopic states. In general, he realized that the postwar world cannot be the former world. As far as the Polish question is concerned, he, in contrast to Churchill, understood very well: It is impossible to dictate to Russia any kind of conditions with respect to the country which it liberated at the cost of such incredible efforts and losses.

After the death of FDR the attitudes toward the Yalta Agreements sharply deteriorated. But already during the lifetime of Roosevelt reactionary forces in America directly accused the president of the Yalta betrayal of national interests. For this reason, when Reagan today calls for a revision of the Yalta

decisions, he is not inventing anything new here.

Roosevelt--what is he? The very fact of the vital activity of this political leader introduced so much into the correlation of forces in the international arena that the extraordinariness of this nature is evident. But even his ambiguity clearly shows through in the narration through the evident sympathy of the author.

And another interesting aspect. Through the lips of President Roosevelt himself--the hero of his book--Chakovskiy named all of the basic maladies of American society which existed then and germinate in the future. "The only thing we have to fear is fear itself." These words from Roosevelt's speech, when he assumed the post of president in 1932, made an enormous impression on the Americans. They have not lost their topicality even now, when the whole nation is intimidated.

For a political figure in the United States, the synonym of morality in politics can be called reliability. The sympathies of Roosevelt for the Country of the Soviets were, to a considerable extent, called forth by the fact that it fulfills the obligations it has assumed. And the president cannot but acknowledge that the policy of the United States is far from irreproachable in this respect. Self-criticism--what a fine human quality this is and how it is necessary for presidents!

The main thing for the Roosevelt of the "Unfinished Portrait" is the question of the possibility and the necessity of the peaceful coexistence of the two systems. He again and again mentally returns to the year 1933. One of his acts in the post of president was the recognition of the USSR. And he regrets only one thing--that the United States was late in doing this. . .

And here is another stroke to the portrait.

In 1929, in his speech on assuming the post of governor of the State of New York, Roosevelt said, in particular: ". . .our civilization cannot survive if we, individual people, will not understand our personal responsibility to the rest of the world and our dependence on it." It sounds astonishingly topical for our day and age as well. Such a statement does honor to any president of today. Such is the measure of the personality. And the task of A. Chakovskiy consisted, to a large extent, in transmitting this measure.

"When Roosevelt considered any question, his thought went far beyond the limits of this question. He examined this question in its relationship to the past, the present, and the future." This is how Robert Sherwood, the well-known American journalist and playwright, who knew the president well personally, wrote in his book "Roosevelt and Hopkins". A. Chakovskiy constructs a never-ending internal dialogue of his hero in such a manner that it creates the sensation of the tension of thought and at the same time of free movement in time. The departures from this flow are caused by external events taking place around, by remarks and questions of those surrounding him. This method of composition gives the author the possibility of creating, on a purely artistic plane, situations from which it is clear how much reality can be unreal in comparison with the illusory, one would think, but so life-giving work of

profoundly directed thought. On this plane, effective use is made, in every conceivable way, of the "forced" contact with the artist Shumatova, who constantly demands "the presence" of the posing president, who simply has no time "to be present" for the sitting since his thought is far away.

There is the testimony of people, who knew Roosevelt for a long time from his childhood years, concerning how his illness changed him. A person, who could not sit long behind a desk, suddenly turned out to be chained to it by illness. The need for outward actions went inside and was absorbed by new forms of being.

A significant part of the narration, as was already said above, is taken up with Roosevelt's weighing of an answer to the angry letters of Stalin called forth by the Bern negotiations and disagreements of the allies in regard to Poland. The very duration itself indicates the particular seriousness with which a political figure of such measure must regard the possible consequences of every spoken and written word. The sinister jokes of the current master of the White House involuntarily come to mind. Only a profound person can joke about his own death, only a short-witted person jokes about the death of another, but to make jokes operating with tons of scorched and mutilated human flesh. . .

In Chakovskiy's novel, the tense mental activity of the president is the basic building material and the main support of the whole subject. Especially as this is a man of the last years of his life, so saturated with events. The hero does not simply give himself up to reflections and reminiscences--he is working. Here he tries to restore in his memory a discussion, which was not entered into the record at the time, or he thinks about events of many years ago for the purpose of rethinking their significance in the light of the present. In essence, the whole book is an uninterrupted chain of questions, which FDR assigns himself not only to solve present-day problems, but also trying to understand something of principal significance, which constantly slips away behind the routine urgent presidential affairs.

The means through which the author of the narration achieves his goal are of maximum simplicity, but at the same time sufficiently well considered so as to give the necessary (extremely sparing) author's comments, without resorting to countless stage directions and quotation marks. In the composite, this makes the reading of the novel open, that is not complicated by all sorts of stylistic figures detracting from the main flow. One simply does not think about the style.

A. Chakovskiy builds the mental world of his Roosevelt in such a way that it completely coincides with the spirit and content of his speeches and addresses, that is consciously freeing the image of the hero from the heterogeneous layers of at times contradictory information, scattered throughout the numerous biographies, reminiscences and memoirs, devoted to the unusual president. The appearance of FDR is re-created which, if we can put it this way, was officially visible to the world community in the 1940's, when the details that fully exposed the real state of affairs of his activity had not yet been published. There is, for example, not a hint by the author to Roosevelt's secret diplomacy.

For this reason, at first glance, it seems that the Roosevelt of the "Unfinished Portrait" is stylized--too all-smooth. But the essence is precisely in the faithfulness of the author to the chosen path--no recent assessments and explanations from hindsight. In this sense, the portrait of FDR written by Chakovskiy is also, as it were, unfinished--similar to the painted portrait of the water-color painter Shumatova. What is more, the personality of Roosevelt itself, incredibly interesting and capacious, nevertheless is not singular, which is why the book was written. This is a portrait of the world as it was in 1945. An unfinished portrait of the world, which was viewed with the eyes of the American president, and in the mirror of which we see the reflection of the world of today.

The author does not permit himself to violate the rules of the game he has chosen, he does not talk about the advantages of the socialist order of society, but merely projects what really exists in the profound mind of the wise politician. It may seem that Chakovskiy himself is unbiased. However, this is not so. The partiality of the writer is strong, but you see it only when you glance over the work as a whole and understand why in the final analysis it was written.

The main thought is simple (which does not make it less significant)--a politician of such measure as the president of a great power must be professionally serious. Responsibility and self-criticism--these are the qualities in which the current political figures of the United States are at times lacking. It would also not do them any harm to have a better knowledge of history and to remember its lessons in order for the mistakes of the past not to be repeated. In today's world, such mistakes may become the last ones in world history.

And in conclusion about the genre.

And nevertheless this is a novel, though not in the classic understanding of the word, for the development of the action, the eventfulness and psychological nuances are replaced here by the dynamic of thought. The key lies in the very title: This is a novel-portrait. And, as was said, an unfinished portrait. The expression of thought gives the rigidity of the limitation of inventive means, with the aid of which the movement of the novel purposefully goes into depth, concentrating only on one man, but this man reflects on the entire world.

The interest of Soviet writers in the life, history and culture of other peoples is not accidental and did not arise today. The past decades increased this interest in politics as well, for the world has become more information and communication-prone and uneasy than ever before. In the public perception, politics itself has acquired a noticeable dramatic effect, for the problems that are illuminated every day by the mass media have become a part of the life and the concern of a very broad reader and viewer. Even the domestic political processes of the individual states have ceased to be autonomous and have become infused into the general flow of world events, influencing its course not only as before, during the periods of the world wars, but constantly. The events play havoc as in a drama, where the inter-state dialogues, replete with contradictions, fulfill the function of cues, developing day after day the captivating world action. But this, alas, is not theater. This is life.

And politics has entered into contemporary literature in all its planetary visibility, not as background, but as the object of intent study. And the main hero is not simply a person, but all of mankind.

One can already speak of fictional-political literature as a new stream of art which is seeking its genre boundaries.

Politics has previously existed in fiction, but frequently it was decoration, against the background of which the writer realized his thoughts with respect to the heroes. Now the literature which we include in political literature, solving, it would seem, the same tasks, i. e., showing the linkage of fates and events, does all of this also in order to raise questions of high politics.

Can one call Chakovskiy's novel "Unfinished Portrait" a political novel? Of course, one can do so, if there is no apprehension of smudging its characterization. I would like to recall the novel "The Sicilian Specialist" by the English writer Norman Lewis, not in search for analogies of an artistic line, they simply do not exist, but in order to try to define the general direction: Fiction [based] on political material. And both in "The Sicilian Specialist" and in "Unfinished Portrait" there is an attempt to explain, through art, the origin and development of the political process. In the first case, this is the transfer of the century-old Sicilian Society of Honor (the term "Mafia" is a later American expression) to the wholesome soil of the postwar United States, in the second-- this is the formation of the relations between the United States and the USSR up to 1945.

A strict documentary nature, although it can in some cases be used as an artistic approach, is, properly speaking, not necessary for such a genre. Not the letter, but the spirit. And as one of the most precise instruments of the artist--a strict selection of the material, during which, by the way, losses in the sense of documentary nature are inevitable.

It is obvious that the laws of the historical genre are fully applicable to the genre of political fiction.

Why is it impossible to call Chakovskiy's novel, which belongs to the political fiction genre, a political novel in full measure? Because the assessment criteria here are blended only to one of the centers of the objectively existing political situation of that time. This, as has been said, was done by the author with a certain goal in mind and is the virtue of the novel, but it turns against the adjective "political".

From the standpoint of literature, politics is a phenomenon which is formed from the totality of all known (officially and additionally exposed) information and opinions of various sides, which are brought as a factor of the time to the state of history as a science. If still quite recently, at the end of the 19th century, Vladimir Dal' defined politics as the science of state administration, today this term has acquired a broader meaning, this is already the system of state administrations in interaction and opposition, open for simultaneous review.

In this sense, Chakovskiy's novel "Unfinished Portrait" does not reflect politics as an integral process, but shows the man and politician with his subjective assessments, world vision and positions. This novel is not about politics as such, but about a political figure, and for this reason it is, of course, closer to biographical literature, in which the kind of activity of the hero is not reflected in the genre characterization. The novel of the Czech writer Karol Schulz "Kamen' i bol'" [Stone and Pain] is a narration about Michelangelo Buonarroti, but we do not call it a sculpture novel!

In "The Sicilian Specialist", where the historical persons are recognizable, but are not named, and the subject of unofficial politics prevails, a definite political process is given in detail, which is carried out by the author not through one hero, but, as it were, above the heroes. As a novel it is more traditional, and besides this is a political novel.

In Chakovskiy's novel the historical person is present in full concreteness, but the depiction of the political process is given locally, through this person. The novel is, as it were, a fragment of the whole. But the whole is already well known to the reader, for what was politics in 1945 can in our day already be included in history. And no matter how the author transformed the personal characteristics of the president, this person is recognizable in the main thing--in the role which he played in the historical process.

Thus, a novel-portrait, a socio-psychological investigation.

And since there is no document that would confirm the genuine authenticity and literal preciseness of the hero's thoughts invented by the author, but documents existing in Rooseveltography confirm their practical possibility, and this, as is well known, is a characteristic and desirable sign of the historical method, we can speak of Chakovskiy's novel "Unfinished Portrait" as belonging to the historical-biographical genre--which is not contradicted by the time of the action of the book and its retrospective panorama, and, what is especially important, by its socio-moral aspect. It is precisely on the basis of the material of 40-year remoteness that the author saw the possibility of expressing most fully what is disturbing the people of the planet at the present time.

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REGIONAL

KAZAKH MVD MINISTER ON NEW ALCOHOL LAW

Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 1 Jun 85 p 2

[Article: "Put an End to Drunkenness! With All the Power of the Law"]

[Excerpts] Since June 1st, two important documents have been in force--decrees of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Kazakh SSR. These documents determine the measures of the fight against drunkenness and alcoholism and for the eradication of home-distilled vodka.

Our correspondent asked the Minister of Internal Affairs of the Kazakh SSR, A. Platayev, to tell about how the police will approach their task of eradicating this social evil.

"The fight against drunkenness, let me emphasize, is first of all a fight for the person who has set out on a slippery and dangerous path. It is a battle for a healthy way of life for the Soviet people, for social order, for work and production discipline, and finally, it is an uncompromising fight against crime.

Two thirds of the murders are committed in a state of drunkenness; 80 percent of hooligan activities are committed in a drunken state; every third death on the highways and roads is a victim of the irresponsibility of a drunken driver.

Special attention has been given to the fight against drunkenness at work. People drinking at work will be faced with greater fines than before. These fines will be levied not only on the workers and employees, but also on the production chiefs, the masters, the leaders of sections, shifts, shops and other leaders who do not take measures against drunkenness.

The new legislation does not allow the sale of spirits to youth under 21. Adults involving adolescents in drunkenness will be criminally charged. I especially want to emphasize that criminal charges will be brought against those who cause a minor officially in their care to become drunk. This will be punished by the loss of freedom for up to two years or by corrective labor for the same period of time, or a fine of from 200 to 300 rubles.



The Soviet police, as is well-known, has always relied on the support of laborers as much as possible. Indeed, they have relied on the help of production collectives, on social organizations and unions, on the voluntary people's patrol, on Komsomol operational detachments, and on unofficial courts. We desire to strengthen these bonds in the future.

In the Kzyl-Ordinsk region, businesses and institutions have communicated to us about measures taken against drunkards corresponding to only a fifth of our requests. In the Dzambul, Turgay, Chimkent, Kokchetav, Alma-Atin, Tselinograd, and Semipalatinsk regions there have been responses to about half of our requests.

In connection with the harsher measures for people drinking too much in public places, or appearing on the street in a drunken state, we understandably will increase our demand on district inspectors of the police, on the patrol-post services, and on the medical "sobering-up" stations.

The specialized voluntary people's patrol can and should render great assistance in the work of the medical sobering-up stations. These patrols can be made up of medical workers, students of medical institutions and schools, and the most active members of the Komsomol youth. The battle with drunkenness is taking place on the basis of the strictest observation of Socialist legality. We will hold strictly responsible those who allow the violation of the law and work discipline. Such people will not find support in our ranks.

Just in the last year we suspended the driver's licenses of more than 50,000 people for driving while under the influence. The more severe punishments for driving while drunk will make efforts of the governmental auto inspection workers more effective.

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REGIONAL

UKRAINIAN CP CC NOTES SHORTCOMINGS IN ZAPOROZHYE OBLAST

AU251411 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 19 Jun 85 p 1

[Unattributed report: "In the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Excerpts] The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee has scrutinized the work carried out by Zaporozhye Oblast party, administrative, and economic bodies to make better use of the production potential created in agriculture, and to mobilize the collectives of the agro-industrial complex for fulfilling the plans and socialist pledges for the final year of the 5-year period. It was noted that, in the oblast, this work had still not been well in hand. In many indexes, the kolkhozes and sovkhozes work below their capacities. Notwithstanding the fact that significant investments have been made to develop the branch, and that the area of irrigated lands, as well as the supplies of mineral fertilizers have significantly increased, the rates of production in the current 5-year period have dropped, and the oblast falls short of the procurement plans for most kinds of produce.

The obkom and oblispolkom make up for it with the fact that many kolkhozes and sovkhozes are slow in applying scientifically substantiated farming systems, industrial technologies, and the progressive forms of labor organization and payment, and returns from their irrigated lands remain low. The tasks to provide appropriate labor conditions for kolkhoz and sovkhoz laborers, to stabilize labor collectives, and to develop the countryside socially are being accomplished poorly.

The attention of the Zaporozhye Obkom bureau, as well as of Comrade M. N. Vsevolozhskiy, obkom first secretary; and Comrade M. G. Domchenko, obkom secretary, was called to the serious shortcomings in the leadership of agriculture, and to the low exactingness toward leaders of administrative and economic bodies.

The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee noted that the oblispolkom, as well as Comrade P. I. Moskalkov, oblispolkom chairman; Comrade I. I. Marusenko, oblispolkom deputy chairman and council chairman of the oblast agro-industrial association; and Comrade G. D. Golovenko, chairman of the oblast agricultural administration, personally had inadequately organized the work to accomplish the tasks stemming from the Food Program.

The Central Committee has examined the organization of implementing in the republic the decision adopted by the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, and the AUCCTU on immediate tasks to improve material well-being for poorly provided pensioners and families, and to accord more attention to single citizens.

The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee has examined and endorsed the proposals worked out, in accordance with the CPSU Central Committee decision, by the Ukrainian Council of Ministers and Trade Union Council to further promote collective horticulture and vegetable growing in the republic in 1986-90. The proposals, envisage allotting land for and the planting of collective gardens, allotting more construction materials, gardening equipment, and materials to plant vegetables, fruit and berry crops to horticultural societies and vegetable-growing collectives, and improving the organization of transport, trade, and consumer services for them. Trade union councils and executive committees of the local soviets of people's deputies have been instructed to tighten control over the observance of the order set for the activity of horticultural societies so that they are not used for the construction of country houses and for profit. While enrolling members, horticultural societies should give priority to conscientious workers and employees, to families with many children, participants in the Great Patriotic War, and labor veterans.

CSO: 1800/358

30 July 1985

## UZBEK KOMSOMOL NOMENKLATURA CUT BY ONE THIRD

Tashkent PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN' in Russian No 3, Mar 85 (signed to press 7 Mar 85)  
pp 50-55

[Article by B. Allamuradov, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Komsomol of Uzbekistan, under the rubric "Party-Organization Work": "The Year's Principal Komsomol Meeting"]

[Text] The decree of the CPSU Central Committee entitled "On Further Improving Party Leadership of the Komsomol and Increasing Its Role in the Communist Indoctrination of Young People," the speech by the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Comrade K. U. Chernenko at the All-Army Conference of Secretaries of Komsomol Organizations, the positions and conclusions contained in his speech to the leaders of the leaders of the youth organizations of the socialist countries—all constitute clear testimony to the enormous fatherly concern of the party for the Komsomol, for improving the communist indoctrination of young persons.

A great deal of attention to the questions of improving the activities of the Komsomol organizations was paid at the 16th Plenum of the CPUz Central Committee. The problems of indoctrinating various categories of youths in the light of the decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the requirements of the 16th Plenum of the CPUz have been examined at a meeting of the republican party activists, at plenums and activist meetings of the oblast, municipal, and rayon party committees, as well as at meetings of the primary party organizations.

The Central Committee of the CPUz has paid constant and concerned attention to preparing and conducting reporting-and-election campaigns in the Komsomol organizations: participating in them were more than 55,000 Communists—workers in party, soviet, trade-union, and economic organs. Thus, the first secretary of the CPUz Central Committee, I. B. Usmanhodzhayev, took part in the work of the Tashkent Oblast conference, as well as in the Sredazelektroapparat Production Association. The second secretary of the CPUz Central Committee, T. N. Osetrov, attended the Samarkand Oblast Komsomol Conference and a meeting at the Tashkent Secondary Police School. Secretary of the Central Committee R. Kh. Abdullayeva took part in the Andizhan Oblast Conference and at the Matbuot Production Association. The fatherly aid of older comrades in preparing and conducting the year's principal Komsomol meeting, which by tradition has come to be one devoted to reports and elections to the Komsomol, has greatly facilitated the creation at these meetings of a situation of broad democracy, frankness, high standards, as well as principled criticism and self-criticism.

On the whole, the reporting-and-election meetings and conferences were held in a well-organized manner, in a situation of high standards and socio-political activity by the Komsomol members. These young fellows and girls subjected the activities of their own organizations to a multi-faceted analysis; they criticized the shortcomings and made specific suggestions aimed at eliminating them, as well as regarding the implementation of the decisions made by the 26th party congress, the ensuing Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee, the 16th Plenum of the CPUz Central Committee, and the 19th Komsomol Congress. The successful conduct of the reporting-and-election campaign has been ensured, to a large extent, by the active participation of the Komsomol's rank-and-file members in preparing for the meetings and conferences, in discussing the reports by the Komsomol committees, and in working out and adopting decisions.

With great responsibility to the party there was profound and detailed examination at the Komsomol meetings and conferences regarding the question of how to increase the contribution made by young workers to carrying out the key tasks of economic and social development, the nationwide struggle to successfully fulfill and overfulfill the assignments of the 11th Five-Year Plan, the increase of labor productivity, improvement in the quality of items being produced, economizing on all kinds of resources, implementation of the Food, Energy, and other comprehensive programs, as well as strengthening labor and production discipline. Reports were listened to from the staffs and centers of the Komsomol Searchlight, and measures were outlined for improving their activity. At the meetings numerous examples were cited of self-sacrificing, creative labor by young patriots. Nevertheless, at the reporting-and-election Komsomol meetings and conferences the important questions of increasing the labor activity of young persons were brought up, and, in our opinion, these are of a principled nature. In particular, their participants paid a great deal of attention to the questions of improving socialist competition among young workers.

At the Il'ichevskiy Rayon Conference the manager of the Komsomol Youth Brigade, A. Kuvvatov, in speaking about the practice of organizing socialist competition, noted that it is aimed primarily at raising the production indicators. But, of course, the results of a young person's labor are closely linked with his general educational and cultural level; they depend upon the nature of mutual relations within the groups as well as on other factors. In our opinion, such a posing of the question is justifiable. It is necessary to orient socialist competition not merely at increasing the production indicators but also at improving the person himself, along with the entire complex of production relations.

Nevertheless, as was noted at the reporting-and-election meetings, as well as at a number of production groups of Andizhan, Namangan, Samarkand, Tashkent, and Fergana Oblasts, the effectiveness of socialist competition is still too low due to the lack of economic justification for the socialist pledges. Young workers, the speakers said, are poorly oriented in such economic terms as "profitability," "labor productivity," "production costs"; they have no idea about the Komsomol savings fund or the ways of forming it. Often at Komsomol meetings, sessions of the Komsomol committees, and at classes within the network of economic education questions are raised concerning raising the labor productivity of young workers, involving them in the struggle for intensifying the system of savings, but the overwhelming majority of young workers and Komsomol activists do not know the ways to solve this problem. It is extremely rare that the defense of socialist pledges is practiced at classes in the schools of economic education or their discussion at Komsomol meetings.

With all seriousness the problem was brought up concerning the inter-relations between the Komsomol and trade-union organizations in the matter of improving socialist competition. In many Komsomol committees of Namangan, Kashka Darya, and Khorezm Oblasts decisions have been adopted concerning the participation of Komsomol members and other youths in socialist competitions, but up to now it has been basically the trade-union committees which have concerned themselves with organizing, analyzing the progress, summing up the results, and providing the publicity for the competitions.

The striving by young persons to make the maximum contribution to the fulfillment of the tasks confronting the group can be implemented only when there exist the necessary conditions for highly productive labor and the growth of occupational skills. However, as was noted on several occasions during the course of the reports and elections, many Komsomol committees, after putting forth their initiatives, supported the initiatives, achieved the adoption of increased socialist pledges, immediately forget about them and do not create the conditions for implementing them. "You won't change much merely by calls for action," correctly noted Sh. Aknazarova from the Komsomol-Youth Brigade of the Yubileynyy Sovkhoz at the Uchku-dukskaya Rayon Conference. "Our brigade is only five months old, while these problems have lasted for years. The sovkhozes do not build housing or facilities for social and cultural services. The winter caught us unawares: the housing and sheep pens had not been repaired, not enough fodder had been brought in, there were difficulties with water and fuel. The agitational brigade had not been to visit us even once, nor had we seen at our place workers from the Komsomol raykom or obkom." Participants in the meetings and conferences demanded that the Komsomol committees concern themselves more profoundly with questions of young people's labor and daily lives, more actively put before the economic organs and administration demands with regard to creating the necessary conditions for highly productive work and substantial rest and recreation for young persons.

The party demands specificity in work from the Komsomol: not to be distracted by thousands of tasks which are not carried through to conclusion but to occupy itself with specific matters of which high end results take shape. In the light of these requirements, many Komsomol committees have singled out specific points for applying their efforts. Thus, for the Komsomol organizations of Andizhan, Namagan, and Fergana Oblasts such a task will be the sponsorship of assimilating the virgin-land rayons of the Dzhizakskaya, Golodnaya, and Karshinskaya steppes. At the regularly scheduled Plenum of the Komsomol Central Committee we discuss our own problems in the light of the decisions made by the October (1984) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. It has been decided to send a large detachment of volunteers to live permanently on the virgin-land sovkhozes. In this matter we are counting on the active assistance of the ministries and departments, the managers of economic organs, and construction projects.

During the course of the reporting-and-election campaign there was a multi-faceted discussion of the work of the Komsomol organizations with regard to the formation among the youth of a Marxist-Leninist world view, class consciousness, and an implacable attitude toward the bourgeois ideology in accordance with the demands of the June (1983) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. The attention of the Komsomol committees and bureaus was directed at seeking out ways to improve the work of Komsomol political education, increase the effectiveness of youth media of mass information and propaganda, ensure well-thought-out work with regard to the place of residence, step up the struggle against violations of the law among

young persons and adolescents, improving the patriotic and internationalistic indoctrination of young fellows and girls, as well as training them to defend the Soviet Motherland.

Recently a number of measures have been carried out in the republic with regard to increasing the effectiveness of ideological and mass-political work among young persons. The structure of Komsomol political instruction and economic education has been revised, the number of schools and seminars has been reduced, the composition of the propagandist personnel has been improved, and specific definite steps have been taken to seek out new, more effective forms and methods of forming in the rising generation a scientific world view, class consciousness, and implacability toward the bourgeois ideology. While noting the positive in ideological work, the Komsomol members during the course of their meetings and conferences, nevertheless, accorded attention to instances of formalism, over-organization, insufficient consistency and depth in organizing political instruction and economic education. Thus, sharp criticism was leveled at the Komsomol Committee of the Sovkhoz imeni Kalinin, Usman Yusupovskiy Rayon, where the school of Komsomol political instruction had become practically inactive. Unfortunately, there are many such organizations in this republic.

Also among the questions sharply discussed by the Komsomol members were problems of preventing violations of the law. And this was justifiable. Last year the number of violations of the law among adolescents and young persons in Tashkent, Navoy, and Namangan Oblasts increased, with particular intensity in Tashkent. Because of this, certain young fellows and girls were expelled from the ranks of the Komsomol. It was noted that this was the result of a merely pro forma sponsorship of working adolescents. Of course, one cannot put an end to this evil simply with a wave of the hand. It is necessary to combine the efforts of family and school, along with the law-enforcement organs, to mobilize all the Komsomol activists in this republic for the struggle against violators of the law.

Many critical remarks were directed at the Komsomol committees for unsatisfactory work with respect to organizing leisure for young persons. The aloofness of the elected Komsomol organs and the passivity of the Komsomol members themselves--these are the principal causes of the shortcomings in this matter. References by the Komsomol committees to the fact that they lack a material base for organizing rest and recreation do not hold water. At the rayon, municipal, and oblast Komsomol conferences it was pointed out that we must cooperate more closely with the organizations concerned for the purpose of ideological enrichment, attracting young persons to the best achievements of our country's and the world's culture, and developing elevated aesthetic tastes in them.

Unutilized reserves in the development of physical education and sports among young persons were mentioned at the reporting-and-elections meetings and conferences of the Bukhara, Kara-Kalpak, Navoy, and Tashkent Oblast Komsomol organizations. Thus, for example, at the Tashkent Oblast Conference USSR Master of Sport, International Class, Venera Zaripova noted that the Komsomol committees must attain a situation whereby classes in physical education and sports become a daily requirement for young fellows and girls, while Komsomol workers must show themselves as models in this matter.

This republic has accumulated considerable experience in the military-patriotic upbringing of young persons. This past year became an important phase in

propagandizing the heroic profession of officer. In conjunction with the military commissariat of the UzSSR, other concerned ministries and departments, the necessary work has been conducted with regard to directing youths into the higher military educational institutions. In comparison with 1983, their number increased by a factor of almost 2.5. There has been improvement in the Komsomol's sponsorship of military hospitals, as well as veterans of war and labor.

Nevertheless, during the course of the discussions on the work of the Komsomol committees a number of serious problems were revealed, and their solution cannot be postponed. In many Komsomol organizations military-patriotic indoctrination is still elucidatory in its nature. Having developed a great deal of propagandistic-agitational work in preparing for the 40th Anniversary of the Soviet People's Victory over Fascist Germany, the Komsomol organizations allowed themselves to fall into the error of reducing the effectiveness of this activity. In propagandizing the heroism of Soviet military men, they do not always take into consideration the psychological traits of an audience of young persons: young fellows and girls, are always interested, for example, in finding out what people of their own age are capable of. Therefore, the lecturers must develop more broadly propaganda concerning the heroic exploits of the young Uzbek servicemen at the fronts of the Great Patriotic War. Serious reprimands have been caused by the shortage of literature about the courage and sacrifice of Uzbekistan's Komsomol members during the war years.

During the course of the reports and elections particular attention was paid to the participation of the Komsomol committees in implementing the school reform, in radically improving the work of the Komsomol organizations of schools, vocational-technical schools, and tekhnikums, as well as strengthening the leadership of the Pioneer organization. Komsomol members from the Kommunizm Kolkhoz, Yakkabag-skiy Rayon, and the Uzbekistan Kolkhoz, Khatyrchinskiy Rayon, as well as a number of others, spoke with alarm about the weak propaganda concerning workers' occupations. In the opinion of many delegates, the essential shortcoming of work with regard to preparing a worthy "new shift" of the working class and the kolkhoz peasantry is the absence of a comprehensive approach to the solution of this extremely important problem. Work on vocational guidance is constructed, to a significant degree, without an economic calculation of the need for labor resources in certain occupations and regions for the five-year plan and the future. This republic's Komsomol organizations are still confronted with the task of determining their own place in carrying out the comprehensive program for further improving the training and the upbringing of a worthy supplement to the working class and the kolkhoz peasantry in the light of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress.

Questions of the further organizational-political strengthening of the Komsomol ranks, enhancing the role of the primary Komsomol organizations, and the creation in them of a vital, creative atmosphere. In connection with this, during the course of the reports and elections serious attention was paid to eliminating formalism and over-organization in the work of the Komsomol committees, reducing superfluous measures, inspections, conferences, and sessions. At the present time in the republican Komsomol organization a great deal is being done with regard to heightening the militancy and authority of its primary unit. Shortcomings are being eliminated in the accounts of Komsomol members. The number of measures being conducted and the number of decisions being taken have been reduced by one third, while appeals by workers have become less frequent. Guided by a party directive, the Central Committee of this republic's Komsomol has directed



the principal attention of the rayon and oblast Komsomol committees at working in the primary organizations and Komsomol groups, at perfecting the style, forms, and methods of their activity.

Undoubtedly, changes have occurred for the better, but they are not taking place as rapidly as we would like. Many secretaries of Komsomol committees and activists, in characterizing the work style of the raykom representatives, have noted that they visit the localities primarily only in order to increase the admission of persons to membership in the Komsomol and to stimulate the collection of dues. The speeches by the delegates to conferences revealed the causes of such a situation: the incompetence of certain Komsomol workers, shortcomings in the selection, indoctrination, and deployment of Komsomol personnel and activists, and weak work with their reserves.

At the present time the "Kadry" comprehensive program is being carried out, and the nomenklatura of the Central Committee of the Komsomol of Uzbekistan is being revised and reduced by one third. The requirements for selecting personnel for promotion have been raised significantly, while candidates not possessing the tempering experience of labor, army life, or free Komsomol work are practically not considered. Now 83 percent of the secretaries, 77 percent of the department and sector chiefs of the Komsomol gorkoms and raykoms have probationary periods of free party and Komsomol work; 95 percent of the gorkom and raykom secretaries have gone through the school of labor groups, while more than 25 percent have been workers or kolkhoz members. During the period from June through December 1984 15 Komsomol obkom secretaries and 130 Komsomol gorkom and raykom secretaries were replaced. Active work is being conducted with respect to the struggle against protectionism, nepotism, and local favoritism in the promotion of personnel. During the last six months the following persons have been dismissed from their posts: Kh. Bakayev—first secretary of the Bukhara Komsomol Obkom—for a defective style at work and shortcomings in personnel selection, G. Nizamov—secretary for propaganda and agitation of the Fergana Obkom—for shortcomings in personal conduct; the first secretaries of the following raykoms: Yangiarykskiy—E. Mayliyev, Yakkabagskiy—O. Azizov, Shafirkanskiy—S. Bakhranov, Yangiyul'skiy—Z. Umarov, and the Tashkent Komsomol Gorkom—S. Aliev were also dismissed as persons who had compromised themselves or had failed to cope with the operational sector assigned to them.

As before, the principal weak link remains the formation of a reliable and effective reserve for promotion. Last year 54 secretaries of the Uzbek Komsomol's gorkoms and raykoms were co-opted, including the first secretaries of the Papskiy, Turakurganskiy, Sabir Rakhimovskiy, Frunzenskiy (Tashkent), Yangiyu'skiy, and Kamsanskiy Komsomol Raykoms. Among the secretaries of the Bozatauskiy, Dekhkanabatskiy, and Usman Yusupovskiy Komsomol Raykoms there is not a single young woman, and there are very few of them among the second secretaries of the gorkoms and raykoms of the Syr-Darya and Fergana Oblasts. Unfortunately, there are quite a few shortcomings in personnel work. In this matter we expect support and aid from those Communists who are working in the Komsomol.

At the present time the body of the republican Komsomol organization includes more than 88,500 members and candidate members of the CPSU, which amounts to almost three percent of its numerical total. During the course of the recent reports and elections there was an increase in the number of Communists among the election organs of practically all the oblast, municipal, and rayon Komsomol organizations.

At the same time there was a reduction in the number of Communists among the secretaries of the primary Komsomol organizations in Bukhara, Dzhizak, Fergana, and Surkhandarinsk Oblasts. Among the Komsomol leaders there are quite a few worthy ones--those who, by their high moral qualities, have merited the right to be recommended for admission into the ranks of the CPSU. We intend to conduct this work more actively. I would wish the party committees in the localities to be broader in practicing the conduct of conferences and seminars of young Communists working in the Komsomol and to listen to their reports more often.

In the matter of increasing the responsibility of the personnel for the tasks entrusted to them we attach great importance to certifying workers in the apparatus of the Central Committee and the Komsomol Obkoms of Uzbekistan. In accordance with the results of the present certification, a characteristic will be drawn up. A situation of criticism and self-criticism, as well as an attempt to make the life of the Komsomol organizations militant, interesting, and full, and all Komsomol work even more effective have facilitated the increase of critical remarks and suggestions from the Komsomol members. Some of these suggestions have already been implemented, while specific measures are being adopted with regard to the remaining ones. Quite a few remarks were made in connection with further improving the conditions of labor, everyday life, study, and leisure among young people. In implementing them we are requesting that aid be rendered to us by the Uzsovprom [Uzbek Trade Unions Council], as well as this republic's ministries and departments. Many of those who spoke out during the course of the reports and elections put forth the following suggestion--to take into account the opinion of the group in connection with promoting the candidacies of Komsomol workers or activists. It is obvious that the Central Committee of the Komsomol of Uzbekistan needs to work out specific recommendations for implementing this suggestion.

The accounting-and-election campaign has been concluded. Its results need to be examined in careful and profound detail. The principal conclusion consists in the fact that the reports and elections facilitated further strengthening of the Komsomol organizations, an increase in their militancy, and an intensification of the ties with the party organizations. This republic's young people have demonstrated their determination by crash work to make their own contribution to the successful conclusion of the 11th Five-Year Plan and a worthy greeting to the 27th CPSU Congress and the 60th Anniversary of the Komsomol of Uzbekistan.

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POLL CONDUCTED ON EFFECTIVENESS OF ATHEIST PROPAGANDA

Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIA in Russian 17 Apr 85 p 2

[Article by A. Ivanov under the rubric  
"Ideological Work: Atheist Education": "Consideration of Increased  
Demands"]

[Text] Teleneshtskiy Rayon--Extensive sociological research preceded the Days of Scientific-Atheist Knowledge Propaganda, which were conducted by the speaker groups of the Department of Propaganda and Agitation of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee. The local party and Komsomol organizations and the ideological aktiv together with associates of the scientific atheism sector of the MSSR Academy of Sciences conducted research in eleven population centers of the rayon. About a thousand persons--representatives of different layers of the population--were polled. The obtained data helped to give a clearer picture of religiosity as well as the state of atheist work and to introduce correctives into the atheist education system of the rayon.

Leading atheist-speakers of the republic appeared during the Days of Scientific-Atheist Knowledge Propaganda that were conducted at farms, enterprises and schools. Appearances dealing with the subjects: "Nature, Society and Man", "Ideology and Activity of Modern Sectarianism", "Criticism of Religious Views on the Interrelationships of Man and Society" and others were very popular with the audience, among whom were rayon ideological workers as well as believers. These Days concluded with a scientific-practical conference on "Important Problems of Atheist Education of the Population in Light of the Decisions of the 26th Party Congress and the June (1983) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee". Reports were given by the Secretary of the Party Raykom G. Yegorov, scientific associates of the MSSR Academy of Sciences, nonstaff lecturers of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, Doctor of Philosophical Sciences A. Babiyy, Candidate of Philosophical Sciences M. Gol'denberg and regional activists in ideological work.

Specific, scientifically based recommendations were accepted at the Conference in which about 400 ideological workers, working directly

with atheist propaganda locally, participated. The recommendations provide for a complex of measures, which are directed at specific improvement of the entire atheist education system in the rayon labor collectives.

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STATISTICS ON BELIEVERS, ATHEISTS IN TUSSR CITY

Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian 30 Apr 85 p 2

[Article by A. Borodavka, nonstaff correspondent, under the rubric "A Complex Approach to Education": "Range of Influence"]

[Excerpts] The Nebit-Dag City Council on Atheism handed out questionnaires to the oilfield workers of the No. 1 NGDU [Oil and Gas Extraction Administration] "Nebitdagneft", students attending evening courses at a branch of the Moscow Institute of the Petrochemical and Gas Industries imeni Gubkin, students of the Nebit-Dag Oil Tekhnikum, and staff of the "TurkmenNIPIneft" Institute [Turkmen State Scientific Research and Planning Institute of the Petroleum Industry] to find out their attitudes toward religion. The results of this study were interesting. At the No. 1 oilfield, 32 percent of the number polled were confirmed atheists, 59 percent were indifferent to religion and 9 percent believed in God.

At the Oil Tekhnikum, where only young people study, believers were also found, though only a small number. This alarmed the city party committee, the Komsomol gorkom and the atheists of the city. It was obvious: atheist work has to be intensified among the youth of the cities and neighboring communities. For this purpose, the University of the Young Atheist was established at Professional-Technical College No. 4, and Young Speaker Schools at all the city schools.

In studying public opinion by the polling method, the members of the City Council on Atheism focused their attention on the moral-political situation at the collective of the Kotur-Tepinsk Compressor Station. This is where one of the leaders of the highly active group of evangelical Baptist Christians, senior fitter Yu. K., who has led the anti-social activity, works. Members of the scientific-atheist section of the city society "Znaniye" [Knowledge] and the Council on Atheism helped to prepare and conduct the general collective meeting here at which a big discussion of Yu. K.'s conduct took place.

This was sort of a turning point. People were shaken up and became more active. The moral-psychological climate and the work and living conditions improved at the station collective. At the station, a room for relaxing was set up with newspapers and magazines that formed a "red corner" [devoted to educational and propaganda facilities]. The propaganda lecture method was improved.

The City Council on Atheism together with the speaker group of the Nebit-Dag party gorkom and the workers of the city society "Znaniye" continue to study the attitudes toward religion among the workers of the "Turkmenneft'" production association and the pupils of the professional-technical schools and the secondary schools of the city. Instructors of the evening branch of the Moscow Institute imeni Gubkin, administrators of the labor collectives and outstanding production workers are recruited for this work.

Conversation and persuasion are not always the only successful way to influence believers and to keep children away from religious influence.

The commission for observing the law on religious cults, which is attached to the gorispolkom, conducts elucidative and prophylactic work among the working people and protects the rights of believers. Leaders of the Baptist sects and individual citizens, attempting to conduct Islamic religious propaganda among the population, are invited to the commission's meetings. After the publication of such important state documents as "Basic Directions of Economic and Social Development in the USSR for 1981-1985 and the Period to 1990", "USSR Food Program" and others, conversations are conducted with the leaders of sects about the attitudes of believers toward government and party plans, and about their participation in carrying out these decisions and the fight for peace.

Ideological work practice shows that the center of atheist propaganda has to be shifted toward believers. The main way, which may lead to success, is individual work. Such work includes becoming acquainted with a believer, and then drawing closer together and changing his mind, that is, work that provides a potentiality for continuous rather than episodic contacts. Only in this way can one best find a person's motives for religiosity and learn about his "nonreligious" interests so that one can be guided by them and, accordingly, select an appropriate form of atheist education.

Atheist-lecturers, in working individually with believers, have understood that the motives for religiosity are nourished not so much by heavenly conditions, but more by earthly living conditions and adversities, which man cannot always overcome. There is a well known saying that people search for the way to heaven for the simple reason that they have lost their way on earth. Most young believers are not strongly connected to their production collective; and, for this reason, securing housing, getting a child into a kindergarten and so on is considered an important element in reeducation, an

element which often proves to be the sought key to the believer's inner world.

In Nebit-Dag, specific experience in ideological-educational work has been accumulated among the population which is not engaged in social production--housewives, pensioners and invalids. Indeed, it is namely among these people that the more tenacious religious vestiges are found.

The party gorkom and the city women's council are devoting more attention to work with youth and are helping "Ayna", a city club uniting about three thousand young Turkmen women.

The active work of introducing socialist rites is contributing to religious vestiges being forced out of the sphere of family-daily living conditions. Almost 70 percent of the marriages in the city were registered in festive surroundings within the last two years.

In the capital of the Turkmen oilworkers, an attempt is being made to practice the new Soviet rites not only in clubs and public buildings, but in families as well.

The cultural-educational institutions of Nebit-Dag are using various forms of scientific-atheist propaganda--surveys of atheist literature, readers' conferences, mass holidays and dramatized presentations.

Considering the important role of labor collectives in atheist character development, the gorispolkom department of culture, the commission on new ceremonies and rituals, and the partkom of the "Turkmenneft'" association have organized labor holidays at enterprises that are based on themes of international brotherhood of the USSR peoples, unrestricted labor and peace on earth, and triumph of the mind over superstition. Receptions for residents of the cities of Nebit-Dag, Cheleken and Krasnovodsk have also taken place.

The city society "Znaniye" is conducting active atheist propaganda. It is in this society that the staff of the scientific-atheist section is examined, a new series of lectures on atheism is developed, and certification of speakers from primary organizations is conducted.

Lately, the population is better informed on questions of domestic and foreign policy. The factors that greatly contribute to this are the visits of informational-propagandist groups of the party gorkom, the oral journals "The Deputies Speak" [on television], and the political clubs for women.

In short, it is gratifying to note that in recent years atheist propaganda has improved in Nebit-Dag. However, there is still much more purposeful work to be done. Religious beliefs die off considerably more slowly than the conditions that gave rise to them.

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M. V. ZIMYANIN BOOK REVIEWED

Moscow PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN' in Russian No 7, Apr 85 (signed to press 26 Mar 85)  
pp 5-9

[Review of the book by M. V. Zimyanin, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, "Pod znamenem leninizma" [Under the Banner of Leninism], Izdatel'stvo Politicheskoy Literatury]

[Text] The party and the people, steadily following the course of the 26th Party Congress and the November (1982) and subsequent plenums of the CPSU Central Committee, are solving complicated and large-scale problems related to the acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development and improvement of all aspects of the life of the Soviet society. The party has foregrounded ideological and political-educational work, established a broad social view on ideology as a factor in thought, action and education, and has developed an innovative, long-term concept of ideological work. It was noted at the Extraordinary March (1985) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee that the goal of all ideological work is to increase the labor and social activity of the Soviet people, to strengthen discipline and to develop patriotism and internationalism.

The historic accomplishments of the Soviet people, achieved under the leadership of the CPSU, the multifaceted processes of the internal and international life of our country, the crucial problems of Marxist-Leninist theory, and the wide range of problems of ideological and political-educational work on the part of the party, the development of literature and art as well as public education are considered in depth and completely in the book by the secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, M. V. Zimyanin, "Under the Banner of Leninism," which was published by the publishing house for political literature. It includes selected articles and speeches by the author which encompass almost all of the 40-year period of his work in various party and state posts.

A good political tradition has developed in the CPSU: "To check the clock of history as Lenin did." Each year during the days of Lenin's anniversaries the party and people receive reports on the successes achieved in implementing Lenin's ideas and on the crucial tasks and plans for the future. Following this tradition, the author opens his book with the report entitled "Leninism--The Revolutionary Banner of Our Age" which he gave at the festive meeting in



the Kremlin Palace of Congresses devoted to the 107th birthday of Vladimir Il'ich Lenin. Always and in everything to follow the teachings of the brilliant leader of the world proletariat, the leader of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the founder of the communist party and the Soviet state, to live and work in a Leninist way--this idea pervades all of the author's articles as a leitmotiv.

Following Lenin we are checking the path of our forward movement and we find in him a key to a correct understanding and a solution to the cardinal problems of modernity. "Lenin," notes the author, "lives in the decisions of the CPSU congresses, in the unwavering fruitful activity of our party's Central Committee. Lenin lives in the growing might of the Soviet state, in the great accomplishments of our people." The ideas of Lenin and all of his life and activity have become a great model for each member of the communist party, for each Soviet individual, a vital and moral model with which we measure our every step.

The entire course of modern social development confirms the great force of Lenin's teachings, his unchanging significance for the international working class, the communist and labor movement, and for the national liberation struggle of the peoples. Communists throughout the world learn from Lenin the art of profoundly analyzing processes of social development, seeing them in the near and distant perspective, and correctly orienting the working class and laborers in their struggle for the building of a new society and the realization of communist ideals.

Lenin opened up a new stage in the development of Marxism, enriching all of its constituent parts--philosophy, political economics and scientific communism. He went down in history as a most important thinker, who was able to disclose the fundamental patterns and tendencies of social development in the new age. "Leninism originated in Russia. It is inseparably related to her revolutionary destiny, the needs and tasks of the struggle of the Russian proletariat and the heroic achievements of its bolshevist party. But," it is emphasized in the collection, "there is no doubt either that Leninism from the very beginning was formulated and established as a teaching that is international in essence, which develops on the basis of generalization of the experience of the entire world revolutionary-liberation movement."

Leninism is the Marxism of the modern age. The book profoundly reveals the unity and integrity of the scientific world view of the revolutionary proletariat and convincingly shows that Marxism and Leninism can neither be separated nor opposed to one another. "Since the beginning of the 20th century," says the author, "Marxism has been unthinkable outside of Leninism, without all that was contributed by the great Lenin to the treasurehouse of the scientific world view of the working class, the strategy and tactics of the revolutionary struggle and socialist construction."

There is not a single social, political or philosophical doctrine in the world which could compete with Marxism-Leninism in terms of its depth and precision of analysis, in terms of the force and scope of its influence on the broadest masses. This has also been seen by our ideological opponents. Trying to impede the socialist transformation of the world, trying to beat their

spiritual weapon out of the hands of the revolutionary forces, bourgeois ideologists, reformists and revisionists of various kinds use the most refined devices in order to distort and denigrate the great scientific discoveries and revolutionary ideas of Lenin. But all of these efforts are in vain. The ideological struggle around Marxism-Leninism is developing under the sign of the historical correctness of our teaching. Leninism is dealing destructive blows to the class enemies of the proletariat, unmasking the exploitative essence of materialism and the falsehood and hypocrisy of the bourgeois society, its philosophy and its morality.

Lenin always emphasized that Marxism is not a dogma but a live creative teaching which derives its force from the revolutionary experience of the masses. The book shows very convincingly that the only thing that can be consistently revolutionary and authentically scientific is socialism which is based on the philosophical, economic and sociopolitical principles of Marxism-Leninism as an integrated teaching--a teaching that is cast from one single piece of steel, a teaching from which one cannot remove either the initial assumptions or a single essential part without departing from the objective truth.

Guided by Leninist methodology, relying on the historical experience of the masses of people and generalizing new processes and phenomena in social life, our party creatively resolves the crucial problems of communist construction and develops and enriches the ideological heritage from Lenin. A large contribution to the treasurehouse of Marxism-Leninism is the teaching concerning the development of socialism which was worked out by the CPSU in conjunction with the fraternal parties of the socialist countries. The book discloses in detail the party's course toward improvement of developed socialism as an objectively predictable stage along the path of our society's advancement toward communism. The concept of developed socialism acts as a theoretical basis for the entire multifaceted work of the CPSU for accelerating the country's socioeconomic development, strengthening its economic and defense might, and improving the conditions for the life and labor of the Soviet people. This strategic line, as was noted at the Extraordinary March (1985) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, has been and remains unchanged.

The crucial problems of party policy and the guiding and directing role of the CPSU in socialist construction is always at the center of the materials in the collection. The scientifically substantiated policy of the CPSU comprehensively takes into account the patterns, the needs and the possibilities of the development of the society, and it reflects the interests of all of its classes and social groups, all nations and nationalities, and all generations. Having emerged in the conditions of developed socialism as the party of all the people, the CPSU has greatly expanded its opportunities in realizing the historic goals of the working class as the most advanced and consistently revolutionary class, for it relies on the community of interests in the world views of all Soviet people, on the powerful economic and spiritual potential of our society.

Based on the extremely rich vital material and profoundly interpreting the facts and processes from the standpoint of Marxism-Leninism, the author

comprehensively reveals the issues in the practical organization of party work, the daily party influence on the processes of production, the social and spiritual life of the people, and on the development of the initiative and creativity of the masses.

The unique, historic destiny of the great organization of revolutionaries created by V. I. Lenin is noted in the paper entitled "The Party of Revolutionary Action" which the author presented at a festive meeting in Moscow devoted to the 80th anniversary of the Second Congress of the RSDRP in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses. For more than 8 decades the party has been proceeding boldly through the historical virgin land, opening up new horizons of social progress to mankind. The correctness of its policy and revolutionary activity has been demonstrated by the most complicated and severe test which could be given by social practice--the Great October Socialist Revolution. Through the heroic efforts of the Soviet people, guided by the Leninist party, even in the 1930's socialism was basically constructed in our country. A durable moral and political unity of the society was formed, and all nations and nationalities joined together into a friendly, indestructible family. All this enabled the Soviet state to hold its ground and to emerge victorious in the difficult historical tests of the great patriotic war.

The party today is a unified, smooth-running organization which has the richest possible arsenal of means of political and ideological influence on all aspects of social life. It manifests constant concern for the ideological and organizational strengthening of its ranks and steady observance of Leninist norms of party life. The party is creating a situation in which each communist is a self-sacrificing fighter for the triumph of the noble Leninist ideals, a paragon of principled and modest behavior, of honesty and selflessness, one who provides a worthy personal example in everything. The readiness always to be in the thick of things, in the most difficult area, to maintain a good ideological and moral climate in the labor collective and creative investigation, to fight resolutely against any manifestation of dishonesty, indifference and stagnation, in a word, to demonstrate, as Lenin taught, "the application of the principles of communism in deed," to proceed ahead of all in terms of labor discipline and energy--this is what is now required of the party and its members.

Increasing the party's efficiency and its influence on social development and on the masses depends to an immense degree on further improvement of the style of party work. The book points out that the most important features in the party style, which is the Leninist style, are the observance of the priority of general party interests, the utilization of all reserves and possibilities for accelerating our forward movement, a scientific approach to social processes, concreteness and efficiency, a constant reliance on the masses, the development of their social activity and initiative, greater control over the implementation of decisions that are made, irreconcilability to any manifestations of bureaucratism, formalism or showiness, and the replacement of empty words with real actions. Improving the style of party management, the party is always increasing the efficiency of the local party organizations as the political nucleus of the labor collective and is directing them toward daily work in the midst of the masses.

A key area in the party's performance of its management role is the selection, placement and education of personnel. The CPSU has always applied the highest standards to ideological-political, moral and business qualities, and it still does. Party committees are called upon to consistently strive to make sure that all sections of economic and cultural construction are headed by politically mature managers who know their business, have high moral qualities, enjoy authority among the masses and are capable of successfully implementing the party policy.

The main field in the struggle of the Soviet people for the construction of a new society is the economy. The book reveals the main features of the party's economic strategy: extensive utilization in the national economy of the achievements of scientific and technical progress, a changeover of the economy to the intensive passive development, an increase in its effectiveness, more efficient utilization of the country's industrial potential, all-around economy on all kinds of resources and improvement of the quality of the work. It is important for each party organization and each labor collective to increase their efforts in the struggle for fulfillment and overfulfillment of the national economic plans and commitments that have been made and for organization and discipline in all areas and in all units, and to direct socialist competition primarily toward solving problems related to intensification of production.

Everything that is being done in the sphere of the economy is being done, in the final analysis, on behalf of improving the well-being of the people and the further flourishing of their spiritual and cultural life. Our economic achievements are being materialized in the sociopolitical sphere and conditions are being created which contribute to the strengthening of the socialist way of life and to all-around development of the individual. Thus we are forming an even more durable vital support for Marxist-Leninist ideology and communist ideals.

One of the most important areas of the party's economic and social policy is improvement of its distributive functions. The party's main efforts in this area are concentrated on providing for strict and consistent observance of the principle of social justice and contributing to a deepening of the processes which lead to the establishment of a classless society and further flourishing and coming together of the fraternal nations of our great homeland. A subject for special attention now is the implementation of the program for social development of each collective.

A successful solution to economic and social problems is inseparable from improvement of the political system of socialism. The party is persistently working on deepening and improving socialist democracy, making soviets of people's deputies, public organizations and labor collectives more active, and developing the motivated creative participation of the masses in state and public affairs.

The book elucidates the problems of improving ideological work from the standpoint of the high requirements of a developed socialist society. The larger and more complicated the problems that are solved by the society, the

higher the role of the human factor, the conscientiousness of the people and the social creativity of the masses. The party has comprehensively developed a scientific concept of ideological work under the conditions of developed socialism.

The party tenet concerning shifting the center of ideological and ideological-political work to the labor collective and the local party organization is consistently being realized. Ideological work, in inseparable unity with organizational work, is becoming a matter for the entire party and for each communist. At the all-union scientific and practical conference held in December of last year they comprehensively considered the course of the implementation of the decisions of the June (1983) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, generalized the experience that has been accumulated, earmarked concrete ways of eliminating the shortcomings that had been revealed and clearly formulated the next tasks in ideological work.

A central area for all political and educational work now is the mobilization of the labor energy of the masses for implementing the CPSU economic policy and instilling in the Soviet people such qualities as a love of labor, a sense of responsibility, a feeling of involvement in the public good, and the ability to utilize completely and expediently everything at the disposal of the country and to approach the solution to crucial socioeconomic problems. "Intensification of production and a change in the direction of effectiveness and quality," notes the author, "depend largely on ideological and political awareness, professional competence and the moral and psychological qualities of the laborers, kolkhoz workers, technicians, engineers and scientists."

It is precisely a merging of ideological-educational activity with political, organizational and economic activity that produces the necessary effect and ensures the feasibility, truthfulness and effectiveness of our propaganda and its reliance on science. At the same time this contributes to surmounting such phenomena as escaping from life, formalism, superficiality and showiness. It is noted in the book that it is especially important to comprehensively enrich the content of ideological work, taking into account the increasing spiritual demands of the workers, in organic connection with the basic processes of social life, and to make propaganda and agitation more systematically and completely encompass all the broad masses of workers, recalling the need to be concerned for the ideological and moral growth of each Soviet individual.

The book thoroughly demonstrates that the basis of communist education and development is the formation in the workers of a Marxist-Leninist, scientific-materialist world view. The party has a reliable base for carrying out this task: the system of party education and mass political and economic training. The main thing now is to make sure that the party committees, using organizational forms of training, influence more actively and consistently their audience which is made up of communists and nonparty members, and that they achieve the development of their labor and political activity. The contents of political training will undoubtedly be enriched by a study of the new edition of the party program which will be adopted by the 27th CPSU Congress.

The author especially emphasizes the significance of the work for developing the patriotic and internationalist awareness of the Soviet people, above all youth. The preparations for the festivities in honor of the 40th anniversary of the Great Victory in the Patriotic War are providing a large ideological and moral impetus.

A considerable amount of space in the book is taken up with problems related to the development of the social sciences, the higher school and reforms of the general educational and vocational schools. The main idea of the reform is to improve the quality of education and communist development of the younger generation and to radically improve the preparation of young people for life, labor and defense. A most important condition for the success of the reform of the school, the author notes, is further raising the level of party leadership of public education. It is emphasized in materials of the collection that socialist culture, literature and art play an immense role in the spiritual uplifting of the Soviet people.

The requirements placed on the content and the character of all agitation and propaganda work is increasing especially now, under the conditions of the sharply aggravated political and ideological struggle in the international arena. Our class opponents have waged a persistent psychological war against the Soviet people and the peoples of the fraternal countries of socialism. This is why it is important to improve the class education of the workers, to increase their political vigilance, and to give a firm rebuff to anticommunism and anti-Sovietism. We are speaking about turning counterpropaganda into an organic element of all of our political and educational work. In the modern situation party organizations are called upon each day to clarify to the workers the events and processes of international life and to show them clearly and concretely our social achievements, the indisputable advantages of socialism and the historic truth of Marxism-Leninism.

The CPSU is consistently and unwaveringly adhering to the Leninist policy of preserving and consolidating universal peace and security of nations. "The correctness, wisdom and far-sightedness of the Soviet foreign policy," notes the author, "is supported by the entire course of history." For 4 decades our homeland has been living under the conditions of peace and creative labor. It is in the vanguard of forces struggling for peace and social progress and against the forces of imperialist reaction and aggression. These days one can hear with renewed force from Moscow the summons to all states and social forces: to achieve an immediate curtailment of the arms race--above all, nuclear arms--and not to allow it to move into space. In the achievement of this kind of agreement--an agreement on an honorable basis respecting equal rights--the Soviet people see the path to complete elimination and eternal prohibition of nuclear arms and, thus, the elimination of the military threat.

The book characterizes in detail the consistent materialization by the CPSU of the principle of proletarian, socialist internationalism, the deepening of fraternal relations with the countries of socialism, the support of the national liberation struggle of the nations, and the strengthening of the unity and solidarity of the world communist movement.

Our party has entered a period of direct practical preparation for its 27th Congress. Revealing the immense wealth of theoretical thought of the CPSU and the modern ideological and political tenets of the party, M. V. Zimyanin's book, "Under the Banner of Leninism," arms communists, the party aktiv and ideological personnel with the ability to coordinate propaganda and mass agitational work with the solutions to crucial problems in the economic and sociopolitical development of the country.

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## BETTER TREATMENT OF CITIZENS' LETTERS URGED

Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 31 May 85 p 1

[Editorial: "The Workers' Letters"]

[Excerpts] In many organizations and institutions, in party, council and union agencies, every day begins with reading the daily mail--citizens' letters and declarations. Tens and hundreds of such letters arrive here. Normally they are not similar at all, but the overwhelming majority of them do have one thing in common. Whether written by individuals or jointly, they are an indication of the authors' civic dissatisfaction, of their active attitude to life, of their faith in the triumph of social justice, and in the fact that their call and suggestion will be studied and in the end will serve the social well-being.

It is not accidental that the party considers citizens' letters and declarations as a viable channel of communication with the people' one which helps concentrate daily efforts on the most important aspects of the economic and social-political life of society.

The majority of party, official and other agencies of the republic treat this important matter in just this way. They have thus accumulated much experience over the past years. For example, in the Mangyshlak region, the "open letter day" is widely used as are meetings of workers' leaders of the party's regional committees and other party committees with labor collectives right in the institutions and organizations. Even the conditions of such meetings promote a candid, open discussion about the problems of developing production, services, commerce, construction, the distribution of housing and other questions. They also help to plan the most effective ways of eliminating negative situations, and raise the sense of responsibility of leaders and strengthen the effectiveness of inspectors in fulfilling the decisions of party committees or other agencies. But the main thing is that people can see with their own eyes that party leaders and officials are in control of the situation, and are not afraid to speak plainly about deficiencies and, in fact, to take counsel with the workers' collectives on how to overcome these deficiencies as quickly and surely as possible. Such



means of working with workers' letters and declarations directly affect the growth of peoples' labor and social-political activity as well as their goals in specific matters.

However, there are still instances when letters or complaints are considered as tiresome requests which upset the status quo. In these instances an attempt is made to say nothing or reply with a formal "response" and fruitless promises. Such instances are not uncommon in the activities of the Ministry of Social Security, the Ministry of Commercial Housing, the Ministry of Automobile Transportation, and of several other ministries and departments, and also of the ispolkoms of local councils.

Since the beginning of the current year, for example, a series of jointly written complaints from inhabitants of Ust'-Kamenogorsk has appeared in print. The problem concerned interruptions in the supply of water and heat to houses. An analysis of the complaints and of the documents sent by the writers of the complaints showed that the gorispolkom poorly inspected the work of city services involved in eliminating instances of neglect. The party gorkom was also not always demanding enough in these questions. As a result, people had to repeat their requests two and three times. They had to write to the republic agencies, even though everything could have been completely resolved locally.

In the 17th Plenum of the Central Committee, Kazakhstan CP, the Kokchetavskyy obkom and the party gorkom, the ispolkoms of the oblast and city councils were seriously criticized for "formally" responding to the complaints of citizens regarding gross violations of registration order and the distribution of housing.

Instances of red tape and bureaucratism are intolerable not only because they slow down the elimination of deficiencies in production and in cultural life, but also because they lower the credibility of the party committee, or of an institution's or business's union organization.

To successfully solve this problem there must be wide publicity supporting workers' letters and declarations. In addition, the constant attention to this important matter by members of the party bureaus and committees, deputies of local councils, and other authoritative and competent specialists is required. National inspectors' posts and groups are called upon to play an important role here as well.

The improved consideration of workers' letters and declarations and of citizens' spoken appeals should become an integral part of the daily activities of primary party organizations, ministries and departments, businesses and organizations. Their duty is to constantly educate their workers in the spirit of interested and keen attention to the people, and of their high responsibility for timely and competent solutions to questions found in citizens' letters and declarations.